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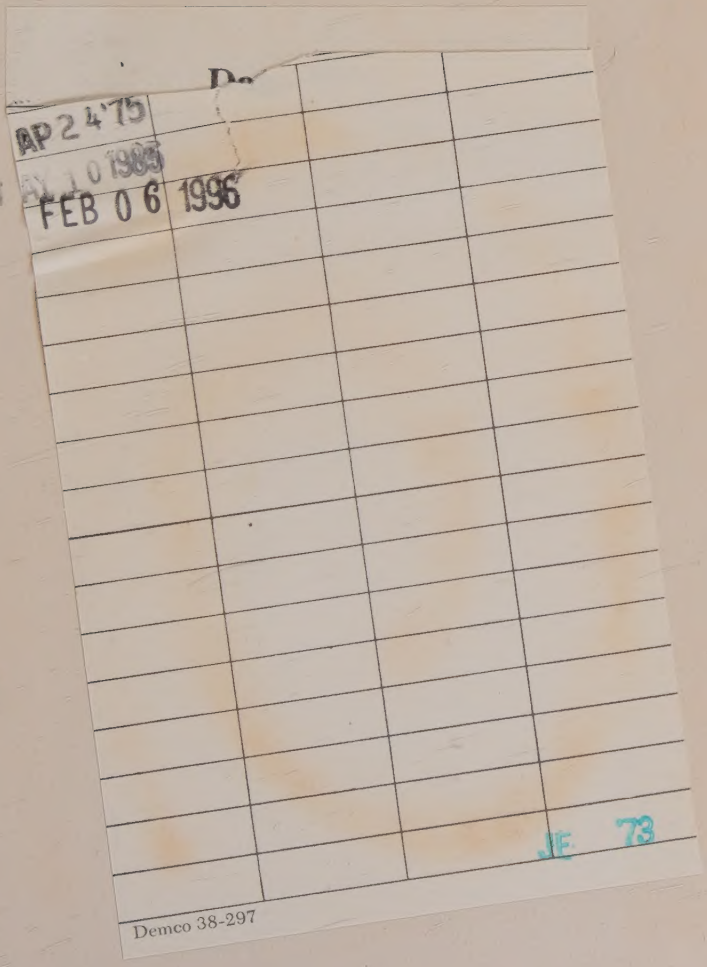
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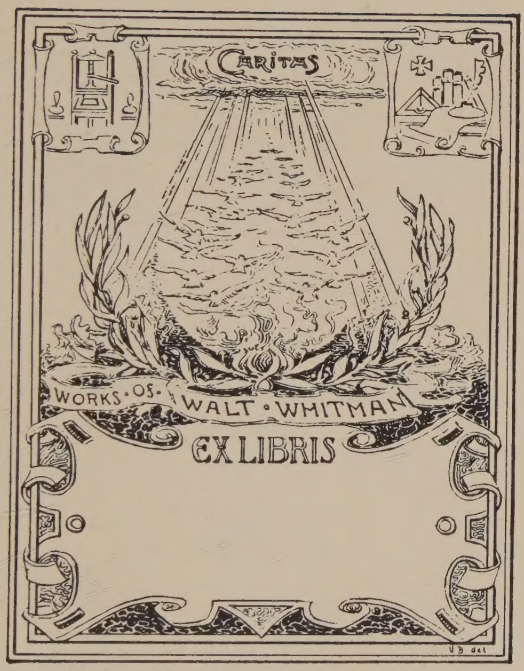
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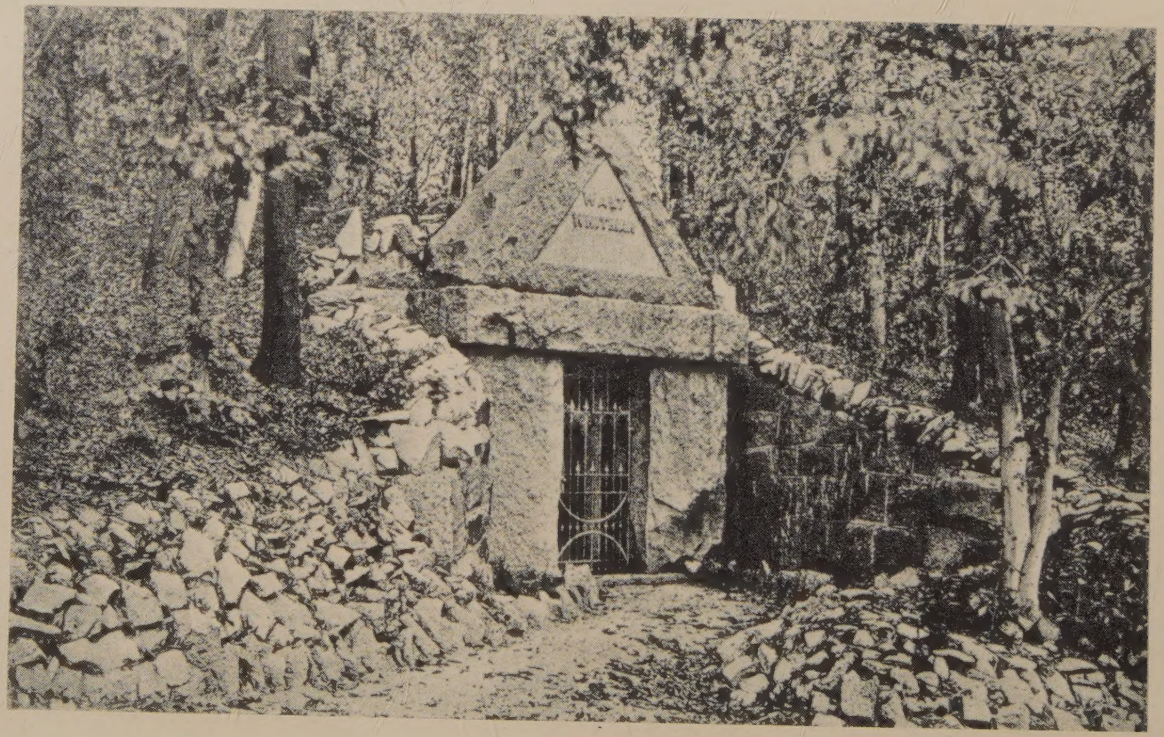

THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN

Issued under the editorial supervision of his Literary Executors, Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel

With additional bibliographical and critical material prepared by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

G.P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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THE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN

THE

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OF

WALT WHITMAN

VOLUME VII

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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1902

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NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

LEFT BY WALT WHITMAN

AND NOW EDITED BY

DR. RICHARD BUCKE

ONE OF HIS LITERARY EXECUTORS

PARTS III (Cont'd), IV and V

"Waifs from the deep cast high and dry"

Leaves of Grass.

Part III

Shorter Notes, Isolated Words, Brief Sentences, Memoranda, Suggestive Expressions, Names and Dates

(*Continued*)

Part III

(*Continued*)

27

Etymology — origin and derivation. Distributes words into parts of speech, tenses, genders etc.

Syntax — constructing words in a sentence.

Prosidy — accent, versification, laws of harmony.

Preterit — past — noting the past tense of a verb as, "I wrote."

28

Ditherambic — trochee — iambic—anapest—Hexameter — Pentameter — Pyrrhic, a poetic foot of two short syllables — Spondee, two long syllables, in poetry—dactyl —spondee.

Hexameter — in ancient poetry a verse of six feet, the first four of which may be either dactyls or spondees, the fifth must regularly be a dactyl, the sixth always a spondee.

"So thus | having spok | en the casque | nodding | Hector de | parted."

Iambus — Iambics — Anciently certain songs or satires supposed to have given birth to ancient comedy.

Iambus, a poetic "foot" consisting of two syllables, the first short and the last long, as in "delight." e. g.

"He scorns | the force | that dares | his fu | ry stay."

Trochee — (from a Greek work signifying to run). A poetic foot consisting of two syllables, the first long, the second short (I suppose such as this):

"Would you | gaze up | on the | waters | of the | lordly | Missis | sippi."

Dactyl (from the Greek word for "finger," the joint nearest the hand being long, the other two joints short).

A poetic foot of three syllables, the first long, the others short—I suppose such as:

"Thundering | upward and | downward the — surges roll'd."

Hexameters. — Verses whose lines are six poetic feet either dactyls or spondees: e. g.

"Then when An | dromache | ended said | tall bright | helmeted | Hector."

Dactyl a poetic foot of one long and two short syllables: e. g.

"Oft at the | close of the | day when the . . ."

Spondee — a poetic foot of two long syllables: e.g.

"Auro | ra now | fair daugh | ter of | the dawn."

Pentameter — having five regular feet (as the line immediately above).

Iambus — two short syllables.

Trochee — a long and a short syllable.

Pentameter—ancient poetry—a verse of five feet. The two first may be either Dactyls or Spondees — the third is always a Spondee and the two last Anapests. A pentameter verse subjoined to a hexameter constitutes what is called an Elegiac.

Anapest — three syllables, the first two short the last long, the reverse of the Dactyl as

"Can a bo | som so gen | tle remain | unmov'd— when her Co | rydon sighs."

29

Dithyrambus. Dithyramb. Dithyrambic. From a Greek word a title of Bacchus the signification of which not settled.

In ancient poetry a hymn or song in honor of Bacchus, full of transport and poetical rage. Of this species of writing we have no remains.

A song of Bacchus in which the wildness of intoxication is infused.

Any poem in which ecstacy and wildness are expressed in kind.

Cæsura. Cæsural pause (from Cæsum, the cutting thing). A pause in verse so introduced as to

aid the recital and make melody — divides a line into equal or unequal parts.

30

Menu son or grandson of Brahma and first of created beings.

Sadi about 1000 A.D.

Indian epic poetry — who was Veias?

Milton 1608–1674. Contemporary of Ben Jonson 1574–1637. Dryden 1631–1700. Bunyan 1628–1688. Followed by Alexander Pope 1688.

Burns, born 1757 died 1796 aged 39.

G. W. Curtis lecture. Delivered Clinton Hall 27 Feb. '56. Subject "Charles Dickens." Literature of Germany. English literature, Dr. Johnson latter half of last century. Walter Scott. This [*referring to passage in Curtis' lecture*] is stolen from Carlyle.

31

Looks like Forest.*

32

Some ideas on Hexameter's, Poetry and Prose, and on Milton.†

33

Abraham's visit to Egypt 2000 B.C. took his handmaid Hagar—their son Ishmael progenitor of the Arabs.

* Written over a newspaper print of Plato.

† Written on a leaf of *Christopher under Canvas* (which is pasted in scrap book).

Birth of Hercules 1205 B.C.

Death of Hercules 1155 B.C.

Alexandrian Library. 700,000 vols. commenced by Ptolemy Philadelphus—destroyed either by enraged Christians under Theodosius the Great 390 A.C. or by Saracens under Omar 642 A.C. or by . . .

Job—of the land of Uz, Arabia, 2300 B.C.

Menu (first). Moses 1600 B.C. Zoroaster 1400 B.C. Confucius 500 B.C. Socrates 400 B.C.

Deluge 2348 B.C. English Bible, 2346 Septuagint, Josephus makes it 3146.

Menes 1st, according to Manetho 5867 B.C. Osortasen 2088 B.C. Sesostris or Remeses 2nd 1355 B.C. Solomon born 1032 B.C. Solomon's temple (? finished) 600 B.C. Herodotus 430 B.C. Alexander the Great 332 B.C.

34

Pythagoras was of beautiful, large person, rich, dressed elegantly, practiced athletics, exercised, bathed, used perfumes.

Homer about 907 years B.C. Pythagoras about 600 B.C. Trojan expedition 1136 years B.C. Troy taken 1127 B.C. The Iliad.

Phydias, the Sculptor, born, 488 B.C. Socrates from 469 B.C. to 399 B.C. Plato ("broad") 429–347.

35

Read the latest and best anatomical works. Talk with physicians. Study the anatomical plates — also casts and figures in the collections of design.

36

? Poem of different Incidents — characters — men and women — without giving proper names — as, There was . . . There was . . .

37

Loveblows. Loveblossoms. Loveapples. Loveleaves. Loveclimbers. Loveverdure. Love Vines. Lovebranches. Loveroot. Climber-blossom. Verdure, branch, fruit and vine. Loveroot. Juice Climber. Silk crotch. Crotch bulb and vine. Juicy, climbering mine. Bulb, silkthread crotch and. . . .*

38

Pekan tree — honey locust — black walnut — persimmon — Cottonwood — Mulberry— Chickadee — large brown water-dog — black snake — garter snake — vinegar plums — white blossoming dog-wood — sweet potato — plum-trees — plum orchard — cedar —chestnut — locust — birch—cypress—buttonwood.

* Cf. *Leaves of Grass*, '55 edition, p. 13.

39

Poems. A cluster (same style as of Sonnets like, as *Calamus Leaves*) of poems, verses, thoughts etc. embodying religious emotions.

40

Editorial for insertion same day with the article, "The New Inland America."

American Expansion and Settlement Inland.

41

Sweet flag. Sweet fern. Illuminated face. Clarified. Unpoluted. Flour corn. Aromatic. Calamus. Sweet-gum, bulb. and melons with bulbs grateful to the hand.

42

? Poem of the Husband. ? Poem of the Wife. ? Poem of the Husband and the Wife. ? Poem of Marriage.

43

The Story of Dante's "Journey through Hell."

The three great narrative poets of Italy (great Italian poetic constellation). Dante, born 1265. Pulci, born 1431. Biordo, 1434. Ariosto, born 1474. Tasso, born 1544.

44

On a magazine leaf dated Nov., 1845, occurs these words: "The French are perfect masters of the philosophy of manners, or as they term it 'Science du monde.'" Against this Whitman made this marginal note: "Yes, perfect masters of *French* manners."

45

Klopstock — patriotic extremely and enthusiastically and very religious.

Lessing — Jew, critical — both flourished from 1750 onward — before Goethe.

Later poetical successes since Goethe and Schiller, Tieck, Chamisso, Uhland, Schultze, Rüchert, Heine, Hoffman (tall in person), Freiligrath (something like the English Tennyson and the American Bayard Taylor).

46

Dutch (Holland-Belgium) Netherlands. Have a literature, poets, historians, essayists, — first-raters.

47

Waller — born 1605, died 1687. — Was a time-server, fawner, place-hunter.

48

Orphic hymns. Izeds of the Parsees. Elohim, Achadim and Adonim of the Hebrews. Lahi of the Thibetans. In spiritualism.

49

O. Goldsmith — Born about 1728 — Died 1774 in his 46th year — his tomb is now unknown.

50

The States. — Prairie Psalms (Psalms, Praises). Prairie Spaces. Prairie Babes. Prairie Daughters and ? Sons. ? Prairie Oaks. (Commence with a proto with the word "Perennial.") Babes of the States. Prairie airs. American chants — do chorus.

51

Names. The Biblical poets — David, Isaiah, the Book of Job — etc. Also the New Testament writers. Merlin. Thomas the Rymer, Scotch, lived during 13th century, died 1299 — supposed 80 years old. Hafiz. Sadi — Persian — about the year 1000 A. D. Eschylus. Sophocles. Euripides. Swedenborg. Rousseau. Montaigne. Cervantes. Richter. Jacob Boehme.

Hans Sachs — 1494 to about 1570 — by trade a shoemaker — one of the Master-singers in Nurenburg

—from 1494 onward some 80 years—contemporary of Luther—wrote 6048 poems (208 of these tragedies and comedies).

Greatest—Homer. Hesiod. Pindar. Tyrtæus. Virgil. Horace. Anacreon.

Author of the *Niebelungen Lied,* composed as now extant about the 13th century, but dating back with its written germs may be in the 6th century. Hafiz Sadi. Valmiki—author of *Ramayana.* Vyasa—*Mahabarata.* Ossian. Bards of Wales, Scotland, Ireland—Druids. Chaucer. Ferdusi, and the primeval mythologists of Hindoostan.

"The wayward mystic gloom of Calderon."

"The lurid fire of Dante."

"The auroral light of Tasso."

"The clear icy glitter of Racine."—*Carlyle.*

Shakespeare. Milton. Racine. Corneille. Luther. Goethe. Schiller. Dante—see page 186—about 75 from the beginning of this book "Master of heaven [hell], of purgatory and of paradise, owning them by right of genius—he could bestow situation upon friend or foe, in any of them." Tasso. Petrarch. Boccaccio, contemporary of Chaucer—Petrarch: "Next to Dante Boccaccio was the greatest contributor to the formation of the Italian language. To the former it was indebted for nerve and dignity, to the latter for elegance, wit and ease."

52

"Still lives the song tho' Regnar dies."—*John Sterling.*

The word is become flesh.

53

Poem. As in visions of . . . at night . . .
All sorts of fancies running through the head.

54

Spencer's single object through the vast amplitude and variety of his *Faerie Queene* is—"to fashion a gentleman of noble person in virtuous, brave and gentle discipline."

55

And as here in this article, which is written to present truthfully and plainly one side of the story indispensable to the examination (now just seriously beginning) of Walt Whitman's writings, may here perhaps not improperly be given in the brief, spinal idea of Walt Whitman's poetry.

56

My two theses—animal and spiritual—became gradually fused in *Leaves of Grass,*—runs through all the poems and gives color to the whole.

57

See Aristotle, Descartes, Locke, Hume.

Hegel, German literature, prose writers of Germany.

58

Æschylus — 383 — Vol. II. Grote — Felton Vol. I.— 207. Sophocles — Grote — Felton Vol. I.— 218 et seq. Hesiod — Felton Vol. I. p. 134-5. Tyrtæus — Felton Vol. I. p. 160.

59

Æsthetics — Art — Science.

Plato treated philosophy as an *art* — Aristotle as a *science*. That is, Plato was [made up of] intuitions, and was calm, full of enjoyment, admiration, beauty, the pictorial — was large, flowing, relied on the feelings, and made swift and imperious conclusions, often he was a mystic, can only be understood from the same platform with himself.

But Aristotle was rather intellect, purer from the rest, keen, convinced by proof and argument, inquiring into all things from a devouring need of knowledge in itself. Aristotle represents mediums between extremes; also experimental philosophy. (It seems to be the substratum on which are based modern literature, education, and very largely modern character.)

Then there is the Hebrew, rapt, spiritual.

60

For example, whisper privately in your ear . . . the studies . . . be a rich investment if they . . . to bring the hat instantly off the . . . all his learning and bend himself to feel and fully enjoy . . . superb wonder of a blade of grass growing up green and crispy from the ground. Enter into the thoughts of the different theological faiths — effuse all that the believing Egyptian would — all that the Greek — all that the Hindoo, worshipping Brahma — the Koboo adoring his fetish stone or log — the Presbyterian — the Catholic with his crucifix and saints — the Turk with the Koran.*

61

Lycurgus — some short time after Solomon — that is about 900 years before Christ.

Demosthenes — aged 27 — 533 years before Christ.

Cicero — born 104 years before Christ.

62

Indian Summer (in *Leaves for the Sick*) — a jaunt, a long, slow, easy ramble — (the idea of ease and of being firmly and friendlily supported) — the idea of . . .

* Cf. *Leaves of Grass*, 55th edition, p. 48. A very early note, the paper torn and almost falling to pieces from age.

63

A string of Poems, (short etc.) embodying the amative love of woman — the same as *Live Oak Leaves* do the passion of friendship for man.*

64

Breathjuice — Airscents — Airsmells — Airodor — Loveodor — Airdrifts — Breathsmoke — Airjuice for you — Airsough.

65

That growth and tendency of all modern theology, literature, social manners, diet, ?, most to be dreaded, is the feebleness, inertia, the loss of power, the loss of personality being diffused — spread over a vast democratic level. Per contra.— And yet the most marked peculiarity of modern philosophy is toward the special subjective, the theory of individuality.

66

In a poem make the thought of "What will be the result of this years hence?"

67

Poem of Poets (? now) in all lands. Describing all the different phases of the expression of the poetical sentiment in all lands.

* So *Calamus* it seems was to have been named *Live Oak Leaves*.

68

Poem ante-dating, anticipating, prophecying great results — those that will be likely to exist a hundred years hence.

69

The beef, wheat and lumber of Chicago, the copper of Wisconsin — the region of Green Bay. The railroads with their hundreds of lines and interlines, over the prairies and up into the pineries and mines, the myriad rivers — the great inland lakes . . .

70

Poem of the black person. — Infuse the sentiment of a sweeping, surrounding, shielding protection of the blacks — their passiveness — their character of sudden fits — the abstracted fit — (the three picturesque blacks in the men's cabin in the Fulton ferry boat) — their costumes — dinner kettles — describe them in the poem.

71

Poem of Wisconsin.
Poem of Missouri.
Poem of Texas.
Poem of Lake Superior.
Poem of the Rifle.
— *for Western Edition.*

72

What name? Religious Canticles. These perhaps ought to be the *brain* the *living spirit* (elusive, indescribable, indefinite) of all the *Leaves of Grass.*

Hymns of ecstasy and religious fervor.

73

Sea windrows. Ocean windrows. Beach. Beach windrows. Windrows with sand and sea hay. Windrows sand and scales and Beach hay. Sands and drifts. Windrows and beach hay. Under foot. Walking the Beach. Drift underfoot. Underfoot Drift. Wash. Drift at your feet.

74

Sands and Drifts. (This collection is to be transposed so as to come before *Calumus Leaves.**)

75

Poem of Soldiers. Sorrow, ? just a list (string?) merely:

Sobs of the tempest, sobs of the voice.

Passage in every "Lecture": To those few who understand — get at the heart of the theme.

76

Poems identifying the different branches of the

* With 73 and 74 compare *Leaves of Grass*, '60 edition, p. 195 et seq.

Sciences, as for instance: Poem of The Stars — ? Astronomy — ? Suns, planets and moons. Poem of Geology — not a good word — ? the processes of the earth.

Poem of Chemistry.

Poem of Arithmetic — mathematics — calculation — figures — exactitude.

Poem of Musicians — tenor — soprano — baritone — basso.

77

Poem of . . . first line:
Manhattan, go in!

78

Poem of the Devil — counteractive of the common idea of Satan.

79

Poem of Young Men.

The Sumatra young man, curious, handsome, manly, gentle, that came aboard the *Flirt.*

Young men in all cities.

80

Poem of fruits and flowers.

Poem of Forms, Sounds, Colors, Tastes, and Perfumes. Poem of Joy, Laughter.

81

Of Death — the Song of Immortality and Ensemble.

82

Mithras, the grand diety of ancient Persians, supposed to be the sun, or God of fire, to whom they paid divine honors.

Oromasdes. Kaaba. The Bedowee.

Look at theological dictionary. 1855. Walt Whitman.

83

Poem of a proud, daring, joyous, expression for Manhattan island!

Bully for you, Manhattan!

84

Man — boy — child — infant — youth — young man — old man — ami — brother — father —

Woman — wife — mother — daughter — sister — amie — aunt —

Head—neck — hair — ears — eyes — iris of the eye — fringe — nose — nostrils — mouth — lips — tongue teeth — throat — chin — cheeks — temples — eyebrows — eyelashes — forehead — shoulder — shoulder blade — scapula? elbow — upper half arm? — lower half — wrist — arm-pit — arm sinews — arm joints — arm bones — hand — palm — thumb — knuckles — forefinger

— finger-points — finger-nails —finger-joints —breast —breast-bone—breast-muscle—ribs—waist — breast-side— back—spine—hips—man-nuts—thighs—man-balls — man-root — thigh-strength — knee-pan — ? upper half leg—? lower half — knee — leg-fibres— ankle — instep — foot-ball — toes—toe-joints — skull-frame — brain (in folds) — spine-hinges and the marrow — hip-muscles — rings of the wind-pipe — stomach-sac — belly — bowels sweet and clean — lung-sponges — liver — tympanum of the ear — roof of the mouth — motion of the tongue — voice — articulation of words—whispering—shouting aloud — tears — weeping — laughter — love-looks — love-risings—broad breast-front—ample chest—albumen— arteries—veins—nerves — digestion—pulse—sweat— food—drink—sexuality—health—heart—heart-throbs —blood — veins — list of bones large and small— skin—freckles—lungs—breathing in and out—ankle-sockets — thigh-sockets — neck-slue — poise of hips —feet—heel — tendon— jaw — jaw-hinges — sleep— running - walking — sympathies — heart-valves— ? palate-valves — nipples — womb — teats.*

85

The American people, ever sturdy, ever instinctively just, by right of Teutonic descent, have only

* Used in *I Sing the Body Electric*, but not in '55 edition of that poem — in '56 edition is used — list then probably made in 1855 after '55 edition printed.

to perceive any great wrong and the work of redemption is begun from that hour. I heartily approve of the action of the California Vigilance Committee, it is worthy the promptness and just anger of the Anglo-Saxon race. But the whole of these States need one grand vigilance committee composed of the body of the people and especially of the young men.*

If these two old ["traitors" *written and scratched out*] here at the outset, threaten disunion unless they or the like of them are put in the Presidency, what may we expect if they were placed in the Presidency?

86

Poem of Architecture. ? The Carpenter's and Mason's Poem.

87

Mothers precede all. Put in a poem the sentiment of women (mothers) as preceding all the rest. ? Let this lead the poem of women.

88

The most Jubilant, Triumphant Poem.

This ought to express the sentiment of all great jubilant glee, of athletic sort,—for great deaths, devoirs, works—in battle—falling in battle—in

* Refers to San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851 or 1856 or perhaps both — probably part of a newspaper article written at that time.

martyrdom — for great renunciations — for love — especially for the close of life — (the close of a great, true life) for friendship.

89

Poem (idea). "To struggle is not to suffer."

Bold and strong invocation of suffering — to try how much one can stand.

Overture — a long list of words — the sentiment of suffering, oppression, despair, anguish.

Collect (rapidly present) terrible scenes of suffering.

"Then man is a God." Then he walks over all.

90

Songs (with notes — written for the voice) with dramatic activity as for instance a song describing the cutting down of the tree by wood-cutters in the west — the pleasures of a wood-life, etc.

91

Whole Poem. Poem of Insects.

Get from Mr. Arkhurst the names of all insects — interweave a train of thought suitable — also trains of words.

92

Voices, Recitatives.

The rich man's just awakened soul.

As just awaken, can I enjoy these. . . .
Now rise and troop around me.

93

An After-Thought or Two and After Songs.

94

Rock-fish — viz., striped bass — more abundant in Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries than any other [in] N. A. — ascend in spring to deposit eggs.

95

The whip sting ray, often met about New York, round-shaped, largest caught four feet across, tail five feet long, have been known to send the tail through a man's hand, are dreaded by fisherman. (The olive-green fishes and the gray and brown blotched fishes.) Oysters; clams; crab; eel; mussel; scallop; horse-foot; lobster; sting-ray; fiddler; Mossbanker (spotted); yellow mackerel; squetang or weak fish is blotched beautifully with white and silver and blue — when first caught is of a rich tint of purplish red — soon fades — move about in shoals generally swimming near the surface — they take the bait at a voracious snap — seldom condescending to nibble — seems to love in summer a slight infusion of fresh water as it concentrates about the mouths of rivers; sea-pike — length eight

inches — appears in August — back dark green, sides silvery white — belly dull white — fins subtransparent pricked with green; blue-fish; white-fish; black-fish, viz., tautog; perch; trout; brook trout; salmon; bass; king-fish; porgee; hake — really king-fish — so known in New York; halibut; shad; horse-mackerel; dog-fish; stickleback (? mullet); herring; drumm; flat-fish; sun-fish; flying-fish — otherwise pig-fish from a strong grunt or bark it makes when first caught or hauled in — said to be only a summer visitor — is small sized — good to eat; wind fish; cat fish; chub; chub-sucker; mud-fish; shark; sword-fish; whale; silver-side — translucent — diminutive — myriads of them — the little things that dart up creeks and along the edges of the sea.

96

Poem of Kisses — the kiss of love — of death — of betrayal.

97

Sea-cabbage; salt hay; sea-rushes; ooze — sea-ooze; gluten — sea-gluten; sea-scum; spawn; surf; beach; salt-perfume; mud; sound of walking barefoot ankle deep in the edge of the water by the sea.

98

Poem of the Sunlight — Sunshine. Poem of Light.

99

Poem of the Trainer.

100

The Poetry of other lands lies in the past — what they have been. The Poetry of America lies in the future — what These States and their coming men and women are certainly to be.

101

A Poem. — Theme. — Be happy. Going forth, seeing all the beautiful perfect things.

102

Poem (bequeathing to others a charge) what poems are wanted — including a long list culled from the MS. scraps.

103

Poem of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois —? Poem of Ohio. ? Poem of Kentucky. ? Poem of Illinois etc. etc. ? Poem of Massachusetts. Prairie Poem. The Carpenter's Poem. Poem of Brooklyn.

104

Companions (viz. Poems, cantos, of my various companions). Each one being celebrated in verse by himself or herself.

105

Death of an Aged Lover. Our neighbor N. the landscape painter is just dead.

106

A talent for conversation — Have you it? If you have, you have a facile and dangerous tenant in your soul's palace.

107

Poems of the Ancient Earth to the Ancient Heavens.

108

Poems of names; bringing in all person's names, men and women, worthy to be commemorated.

109

American boys. A Book. Containing the Main Things — for the formation, reading, reference, and study for An American Young Man — for schools — for study — for individual use — one for the upper classes of every school in the United States.

110

The th Presidency. *Voice of Walt Whitman to the mechanics and farmers of These States, and to each American young man, north, south, east and west.*

Who are the people or nation? For instance, first, workingmen, mechanics, farmers, sailors etc. constitute more than five millions of the inhabitants of These States. Merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, priests and the like count up as high as five hundred thousand. The owners of slaves number three . . .

111

Poem. ? The cruise. A cruise.

112

Poem of Fables. A long string, one after another, of Poetical Fables, as Dreams, Spiritualisms, Imaginations.

Now this is the fable of a beautiful statue;

A beautiful statue was lost but not destroyed.

Last piece — still another death song. Death Song with Prophecies.

113

"Every accession of originality of thought," says the author of *Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England,* "brings with it necessarily an accession of a certain originality of style."

114

Signal bell. Warning bell. Ocean bell. Storm bell. Notes.

115

A Cluster of Poems (in the same way as *Calamus Leaves*) expressing the idea and sentiment of Happiness, Ecstatic Life (or moods), Serene Calm, Infantum, Juvenatum, Maturity (a young man's moods), middle age (strong, well-fibred, bearded, athletic, full of love, full of pride and joy), old age (natural happiness, Love, Friendship).

116

Living Pictures. Nowhere in the known world can so many and such beautiful living Pictures be seen as in the United States.

America. Here different from any other country in the world all forms of practical labor are recognized as honorable. The man who tends the President's horses not one whit less a man than the President. The healthy fine-formed girl who waits upon the wealthy lady not less than the wealthy lady. He who carries bricks and mortar to the mason not less than the mason. The mason who lays the bricks not one tittle less than the builder who employs him. The architect and builder of the home no less than . . .

117

Song of the Songs of Democracy of the Future.

The song of women — the song of young men — the song of life, here not elsewhere — the song . . .

118

In Lectures on Democracy. A course of three (or five) comprehending all my subjects under the title.

Come down strong on the literary, artistic, theologic and philanthropic coteries of These States — that they do not at all recognize the one grand over-arching fact, these swift-striding, resistless, all conquering, en masse . . .

Boldly assume that all the usual priests . . . etc. are infidels, and the . . . are Faithful Believers.

119

Poem of Pictures. Each verse presenting a picture of some characteristic scene, event, group or personage — old or new, other countries or our own country. Picture of one of the Greek games — wrestling, or the chariot-race, or running. Spanish bull fight.

120

The Corruption. I will confess to you I do not so much alarm myself — though very painful and full of dismay — at the corruption in all public life. ——— It is but an outlet and expression on the surface of something far deeper — namely in the blood.

121

Poemet. Leaf. Chant. Song. Poem. Psalm. Hymn. Warble. Carol. Cavatina. Ballad. Thought. Caprices. Fantasia. Capricea. Sonnet-Trio. Sonnet-Quinto. Sonnet-Duo. Melange. Canticles. Songlet.

122

Appendage. Appendant. Appendix. Supplement —ary. Annex—ed. Appendix-Leaves. Postscript-Leaves. Added-Leaves. Supplement-Leaves. Sur-Leaves (sur, from "supra" ? "super"—over and above—something added, beyond). Plus-Leaves. Leaves-Over-Plus. Surplus Leaves. Leaves Supervenio. Leaves Supervened.

123

Breast Sorrel. Breast Pinks. Breast Currants. Breast Apples. Calamus Roots.

124

Airscud. Airdrift. Loveaxles. Lovepivot. Sleep-ripples. Loveripples. Lovejet. Loveache. Love-string. Glued with Love. Tiller of Love.

125

Native Flames. Moments of Fire. Drops of my Blood. Flames of Confession. Drops of Evil. Flames of Evil. Verses of Evil.

126

It was not the old custom (viz.: To abandon the Chief).

127

Breath and Spray. Breath and Drift. Drift Leaves. Ripples and Drift. Sands and Drift. Eddies and Drift. Tears and Pulses and Breath. Leaves-Droppings. Rain-Drops and Snow. Rain-Drops. Drops of Rain. Falling Snow. Drops of Snow.

128

Poem as in a rapt and prophetic vision — intimating the Future of America.

129

"The Scout." A good name for a poem, a magazine, a newspaper.

130

Lectures on the Future, as for instance:
The America of the Future.
The Church of the Future.

131

Lectures. Ego-style. First-person-style. Style of composition an animated ego-style — "I do not think" — "I perceive" — or something involving self-esteem, decision, authority — as opposed to the cur-

rent *third-person style, essayism, didactic,* removed from animation, stating general truths in a didactic, well-smoothed . . .

132

Secrets — Secreta. ? *Theme for an immense poem,* collecting in running list all the things done in secret.

Poem, vocabularium. ? Names, terms, phrases, glossary, list.

133

Poem of language. How curious. — The immense variety of languages. The points where they differ are not near as remarkable as where they resemble. The simple sounds. Music.

134

See to Roman History. I discover that I need a thorough posting up in what Rome and the Romans were.

135

Poem of the Drum. Cannot a poem be written that shall be alive with the stirring and beating of the drum ? Calling people up ? A reveille to ? ?

136

First to me comes the People, and their typical shape and their attitudes — then the divine minor, Literature.

137

Dr. Bucke's travels, work and experiences 30 to 36 years ago (1854 onward) in a letter from him to an uncle in England.

138

Carols Closing Sixty-Nine. Annex-Leaves to the preceding. Halcyon Days. Carols at Candle-Light and other pieces, 1884–8. Sands on the Shores of Seventy. Annex-Leaves to the preceding. Carols at entering Seventy. Carols at Candle-Light.*

139

Cantaloupe. Muskmelon. Cantabile. Cacique City.

* Titles considered for *November Boughs*.

Part IV

Notes on English History

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Notes on English History*

Old theory started or revived by Geoffrey ap Arthur (12th century): That the English part of the islands was "first" populated by a colony of the Trojans, guided, 1000 B.C., by Brutus (whence Britains) a grandson of the great Æneus, more than 2776 B.A., 1000 years before the Christian era.

The Romans themselves pretended to be of Trojan descent — as Æneid.

Gogmagog — a giant before the Trojans—Trojans came 1000 B.C.

Albion, a giant also — son of Neptune.

Samothea (from Samothes, a King of England) a name of Britain after the Trojans.

The Triads, Welsh poetical histories, supposed to be written time of Edward I.

One theory is that (the islands being inhabited

* A series of notes on English history made by Whitman about 1855–6 — must have been made '55 or immediately after, because they are written on the back of unused copies of the fly-title of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass,* which was printed quite early in that year.

by Picts) they were visited and settled by Phœnicians — and that they were the same as the Celts — also that the Picts, or Caledonians, were the ancient Cimbri.

Positively.—The numerous inhabitants found in Samothea at the appearance of the Romans 50 years before Christ — were of Celtic origin. (The British coast is visible from France.)

A political friendliness existed then (50 B.C.) between Gallia and Samothea or Albion.

The names of the towns are Anglo-Saxon — but the hills, rivers, woods etc. are Celtic.

Everything reliable, of the greatest antiquity in Albion is Celtic.

Both Celts and Goths are branches of the same paternal stem — both are Caucasian or Japhetic.

One author (Whitaker 1773) says *Britain* means a separated people — he supposes Britain and France to have been at one time united by land.

Ireland, very anciently, with a highly civilized and renowned people.

Ireland had the name of *Scotia* in the 7th and 8th centuries and was eminent in scholarship and civilization.

Erin, Celtic name of Ireland — Hibernia another form.

Some writers consider the Celts identical with the Persians — Mr. O'Brien makes Ireland a colony of Persia, and the Irish tongue a Persian dialect.

Positive — the Irish tongue is Celtic.

Theory — that the Phœnicians were a branch of Persians.

Positive — from Spain the progenitors of the present population came to Ireland — whoever they were.

Ancient name of Scotland — Caledonia.

"The Scots," the name of the most noted of the Irish tribes.

Picts — they were not Celts but Teutons or Goths, north of Britain, Roman time, painted or tattoo'd people. Had a kingdom and king — till the middle of the 9th century along the east coast of Scotland.

Ossians poems — 1762 — James Macpherson.

Positive — Scottish Highlanders descend from Irish settlers there middle 3rd century.

Erse (Scottish dialect), Irish.

Celts — classical derivation from the Keles (Kelets) a horse — or *Kello,* to move about.

Down to 11th or 12th century by Scots was meant the Irish.

Quite positively, the "original" Scots of Scotland were Irish.

Scot-Scythian — a scattered or wandering people.

Supposed (quite plausibly) that the (Irish original) Scots were really a tribe of Scythians, a people from Germany, from the north of Europe, therefore

of Teutonic blood and language.—If this how can they be Celts?

Albin or Albion, an ancient name of the island of Great Britain, and that by which it was first known to the Greeks and Romans.

Ierne (Erin, Herne, Hibernia) the ancientest name of Ireland.

Welsh, Wales, consider themselves the hereditary representatives of the natives of Albion before the arrival of the Saxons and even before the Romans.

Cymry or Cymri one of the Welsh names.

Scythia, the north of modern Germany, and Denmark a peninsular of Jutland etc.

Arthur—the chivalrous Welsh (he is the one of the Round Table).

Pictorial History thinks the Welsh (Cymry) are the visible representatives of the Cymri of antiquity.

Migrations.—That of the Celts, thirty-four hundred years before the American era (1600 B.C.) from Western Asia.—That of the Goths twenty-six hundred years before the American era from northwestern Asia.—That of the Slavic races some centuries posterior to the Gothic migration.

Tartars, or Tatars, middle of Asia, toward the Pacific Mongol Tatars.

Phœnician alphabet is the prototype of all these of modern times (its after times).

55 B.C. Julius Cæsar having invaded and conquered Gaul (the present France, Belgium etc.) determined to cross to England. He did so, conquered them. They had helped the Gauls against Cæsar.

Nineteen hundred years ago Albion was a sort of "holy land," a great centre and stronghold of the Druids.

Cæsar landed on the coast of Dover, was met, fought, succeeded.

Cassivellanus — opponent of Cæsar — general of the British contributions — brave — patriotic.

Previous to and at the time of the Roman invasion the life, huts, villages, ways of Albic natives were very much like those of the Ceylonese,* thatched houses, some conical etc. Still, they seem to have made a pretty good fight — had war chariots — were certainly civilized enough to hold their own.

War chariots — these seem to have been great affairs — terrible — dreaded.—They were peculiar to the Britons — some call this a link connecting them with Persia, an old place of such chariots.

Horses.—The ancient Britons had horses — a small tough breed.

Throwing off the clothing when going to fight. All the Celts seem to have had a way of throwing off the clothing when going to fight — Goths too I think.

* *I. e.*, of course, of the Ceylonese in the 19th century.

War Weapons — War British — axes, stones, lances, spears, clubs, cutlasses, heavy pointless swords — the metal used is nearly all copper hardened with tin.

Roman javelin — War Roman — Roman javelin (pilum) six feet long, terminating by a strong triangular point of steel, eighteen inches long.

Helmet etc. Open helmet, lofty crest — breast plate or coat of mail—greaves (plates bent or grooved to the shape of the legs) strong shield carried on the left arm — this shield or buckler, four feet high and two and a-half feet wide, framed with light but firm wood, covered with bull's hide and strongly guarded with knobs of iron or bronze.

Warlike facts of Romans — pages 34 and 35 *Pict. Hist. Eng.*

For 100 years after the departure of Cæsar Britain was left uninvaded by any foreign soldiery — internally there were dissensions and wars among the tribes and kings.

Cæsar did not establish government. Ninety-seven years after Cæsar's departure the Emperor Claudius determined to subjugate and establish government in Britain — making it a Roman province.

A.D. 43 Britons had a great defeat on the banks of the Severn.

Caractacus — British hero of the second Roman invasion.

Claudius himself came to the assistance of his generals to subjugate Britain, returned to Rome after six months absence and was given a triumph.

Massilia — viz., Marseilles.

Proprætor — proprietor. Ostorius, the Roman proprætor, had many fights — was a cautious and shrewd man.

Silures, inhabitants of South Wales.

(Amid all these things Caractacus.)

The final battle. Caractacus gathered his forces, (in North Wales?) in Shropshire — and here was fought the final battle with Ostorius.

Caractacus was taken prisoner soon after, carried to Rome, preserved an undaunted demeanor — his final destiny is unknown.

Dauntlessness of Britons. For twenty years the Britons still resisted, harassing the Romans. Subjugated at length and Roman rule established.

Anglesey (ancient name Mona) "groves of Mona."

Romans wished to destroy the Druidical institutions — the Druids had taken refuge in Anglesey island — the battle — fierceness of the religious excitement.

Romans victorious — destroying the Druids.

Boadicea — widow of the king of a British tribe the Iceni — her wrongs — dignity — energy of character — became the head of a combination against the Roman invaders.

Native British rising under Boadicea. The Romans were forced to retreat from London — the British entered it and slaughtered and ravaged, burnt etc. — A pitched battle was forthcoming. Boadicea mounted on a chariot, her long yellow hair loose, her two daughters with [her] drove through the British ranks and harangued. British were defeated with great loss. Boadicea poisoned herself.

Yet still the British continued more or less rebellious.

Cnæus Julius Agricola now appeared in Roman command. (Tacitus was his son-in-law.) He was a great ruler (perhaps thanks to Tacitus).

Agricola endeavored to improve the British and tame them, governing them wisely.

A.D. 83 — Agricola makes conquest of most parts of the island, goes to Scotland.

Galgacus — the Scotch leader at this time — Scotch defeated.

A.D. 120 — Hadrian, the emperor, visits Britain. 138 — Antoninus Pius. 183 — Commodus emperor. 207 — Emperor Severus, old, landed in Britain (an iron-hearted and iron-framed old man).

Caracalla, son of Severus, departs from Britain. After that a 70 years blank in British history.

Caracalla made the people of the provinces free citizens of the Roman empire.

70 years quiet.

A.D. 288 — Roman reign of Diocletian and Maximian — the Scandinavian and Saxon pirates begin to ravage the coasts of Britain and Gaul. "Old pirates of the Baltic."

Carausius was appointed admiral to destroy the pirates — was charged with collusion — Roman message to put him to death — he set up for himself — gathered the British about him.—The joint Emperors of Rome were fain to purchase peace by conceding him the Government of Britain and of the adjoining coast of Gaul with the title of Emperor.

Under Carausius Britain figures first as a naval power.

297 — Carausius was murdered by Allectus, who succeeded him, and reigned as Emperor three years.

Saxons appear now to be more or less at home in England.

A.D. 296 — On the resignation of the Roman Emperors Britain fell by succession to Constantius Chlorus. 306 — He died at York (Eboracum).

Constantine (afterwards called The Great) then began his reign at York.

Now Britain seems to have enjoyed tranquility till 337.

Roman Government removed from Rome to Constantinople. Roman power decaying.

Franks, Saxons, Picts, Scots etc. harass England.

Romans had various luck in repelling these thieves and pirates.

London, also named Augusta.

A.D. 382 — Maximus set up to be independent Emperor in Britain, had varied success, was at last defeated and put to death by Theodosius the Great — (This monarch reunited the east and west empires).

395 — Theodosius died. He divided by his will the empire he had previously united. All this while the enemies harassed England.

403 — The Roman decadence seem to have been been quite complete. No unanimity, no head, in Britain.

403 — Alaric the Goth ravaging Italy on his way to Rome.

Now the standing soldiery (Romans and others I suppose) in Britain chose one, two, three Emperors — two deposing and put to death directly the third — "Constantine" had a longer time but fell at last.

420 — Under Honorius, after many futile attempts, the Roman rule over Britain finally fell — the governors etc. departed after not quite 300 years.

After 420 — dark for the historian in Britain for some years. It appears that the municipal governments of cities etc. were overthrown by military chieftains of Roman character principally.

"Kings and kinglets of the earth" — now many,

many kinglings — "the miserable weakness of Britain on the breaking up of the Roman government" causes "mad disunion," "horrid crisis."

Coracles (small British boats, for one person) shoals of these.

Thousands of Roman citizens no doubt remained after the departure of the government.

411 — Petitions of the Britons to Ætius, thrice consul, — "The barbarians chase us into the sea — the sea throws us back upon the barbarians," — (no defence rendered by the Romans).

Religious dissensions also. The Britons consumed their time in sectarian disputes.

449 — Vortigern, head of the British as against the Roman party, invites the "hardy freebooters of the Baltic" — the Saxons.

Hengist and Horsa now (perhaps the standards). It appears to have been on the deck of their marauding vessels the Saxons received the invitation.

Druidism seems to have originated in Britain — Anglesey (Mona) was the "holy land." The Druids were judges, arbitrators etc. They had more or less learning — wrote in Greek ? etc.

Doctrine of Metempsychosis — the spirit at death passes into some other body.

Wicker-work frames, filled with living persons, fired, sacrificed to the gods.

Deities — Mercury, Teutates, Taut, Thoth, Mars,

Apollo, Bel, Jupiter (Jove) Minerva. Mercury is probably the same as Bhuda, also Woden.

Gauls supposed themselves descended from Pluto.

They reckoned time by *nights,* not days.

Drui (Greek, an oak, a tree) Dryades, wood deities.

(Mercury figures more largely as a leading deity under various names, through all ancient religions, than I supposed.)

"Cromlech"—the Druidical sacrificial stone—literally, the stone to bow at or worship at.

New year commenced 10th March.

Three orders, the Druids, Vates and Bards. The Bards sung the brave deeds of illustrious men—sometimes composed entreaties, invectives etc. and and chanted them to the accompaniment of an instrument resembling the Greek lyre.

"Vates" is frequently used for "poet"—The British Vates were priests and physiologists.

Faidh (modern Irish—"Prophet.")

Druids lived together in communities or brotherhoods.

Kings were sometimes Druids.

(Tiberius or Claudius issued decrees—Claudius 100 A.D., for the extinction of Druidism.)

Three Druidical precepts—to worship the gods, to do no evil, and to behave courageously.

Ancientest Druidical worship—appears to have

been of the sun and other heavenly luminaries — and of fire. Water was also worshipped. The serpent was an emblem of use among them also.

Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced into the Greek metaphysics the idea of the metempsychosis.

Probably both the Druids and Pythagoras drew their philosophy, numbers etc. etc. from the same source (from the Indus or the Nile ?). An oriental origin to all.

The Germans, Goths etc. had no Druids.

Middle of the 5th century — Druidism in Ireland fell under the attacks of St. Patrick.

Rich pagan temples were during the Roman occupancy built in all the cities and large neighborhoods of Britain, to the deities.

A.D. 209—"Even those places in Britain hitherto inaccessible to the Roman arms, have been subdued by the gospel of Christ." Tertullian.

286—St. Alban, the first British Christian martyr, perished (at this time Christianity had numerous followers in Britain).

314 — Christian bishops go from Britain to the great church councils. Arianism was greatly in Britain.

Pelagius, a British monk of the 5th century, who denied original sin, and maintained the merit of good works.

Notes on English History

Before the Roman conquest Britain must have been known to the Phœnicians or Tyrians. It was divided into many tribes or nations. On the coast were comparatively new-comers, "Belgians" superior, having their own appearance, laws etc. etc.

"Brigantes" were the leading tribe.

Females ruled indifferently with men, in the supreme power.

Comprehensiveness of the education of a Roman, for leading public office, or eligibility to it — instances of the same man being juris consult, general, public professor of law, pontifex maximus, consul, dictator, — (war, politics, metaphysics, sciences, actual knowledge of the *present* of the earth). Courage, sternness, a hardened tough body — a ready tongue.

Defence of Rome and Romans, pp. 79 and 80, Vol I. *Pict. Hist.*

Rome pursued a generous policy toward subjugated nations — confirmed their municipia, who were charged with their own affairs, viz., religion, administration of municipal revenues, police, certain judicial function. — Some were advanced to the full dignity of the Freedom of *Roman* citizens.

In Britain, under the Romans, there were magnificent public buildings, theatres, baths, palaces,

roads, populous and orderly cities, laws, trades, manufactures, fine wares, travel etc. etc.

Architecture as cultivated by the ancients, spoke not merely to the eye — it spoke far more to the mind.

"Pandect," a treatise that comprehends the whole of any science (the digest of the laws of Justinian) — Justinian A.D. 527–565

Tarshish — (probably a general appellation for the countries lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules).

Ezekiel (Bible) six centuries before Christ.

Tin used by Phœnicians (supposed from Britain) 1500 B.C.

Bronze — Copper and tin.

Brass — Copper and zinc.

Himilco, the Carthegenian navigator, 1000 B.C. Supposed to have voyaged to Britain.

Palmyra (Tadmor of the desert). Supposed to have been founded by Solomon 1000 B.C.

Coracle. — Small boat, formed of ozier twigs, covered with hide.

Lead. — Britain has always produced more lead than all the rest of Europe.

Linen. — The manufacture of cloth (linen), etc. colored various hues, was prevalent in Britain as in Gaul, previous to the Romans.

(The shelfish "mussel," not "muscle.")

Ships. — Vessels "ships" (doubtless small and

rude enough) carried on commerce in Britain from shore to shore, at the Roman times.

Money. — They had money, in rings, or three-quarter rings.

Weights. — It is quite settled that our modern "Troy Weight" and others, are of antiquity long before any reliable dates of Greece, Rome, or any other ancient history.

Tax money — paid to Romans by the inhabitant of Britain — "poll money," "corn money," "sheep money" etc.

Justinian A.D. 527–565.

Vineyards existed in old Britain.

Agriculture was encouraged and improved in Britain by the Romans.

Gael — Gaul — the Scottish Highlanders.

The Druids "were not merely their priests, but their lawyers, their physicians, their teachers of youth, their moral and natural philosophers, their astronomers, mathematicians, architects, poets, and their historians."

They did not *share* their knowledge with the people (do any priests?) — their power depended on its exclusiveness.

Chief Druid obtained his place by election.

Reading and Writing — The Druids had — used a written language — Greek letters, it is supposed — though not the Greek language.

Eloquence was certainly sedulously cultivated by the Britons, Irish, Gauls — indeed by the Celts generally.

"Displays of oratory in all their public proceedings. Harangues by Galgacus, Boadicea and other chiefs."

Druids of Mona, with frenzied appeals and invocations.

The common mother tongue of Englishmen and Americans, uniting the two nations by "a tie lighter than air yet stronger than iron" (Burke).

The Gauls represented their Hercules Ogmius (God of Eloquence) as an old man surrounded by a great number of people, attached to him in willing subjection by slender chains reaching from his tongue to their ears.

"Poetry and its then inseparable accompaniment, music, were doubtless also cultivated by the British and Gallic Druids" or that part of them called the Bards. "Hymners" Strabo calls them.

Mistleto and Vervain — were the vegetables venerated and used in medicaments — as talismans etc.

Druidical religion *full of minute formalities* — are modern religions any different? I see where Druids walked the groves of Anglesey — I see in their hands the mistletoe and Vervain*

* This line first written: "I see the Druids in the groves of Anglesey — I see the sprigs of mistletoe and vervain."—*Then changed to above.* As first used in

O'Brien's *Round Towers of Ireland* assigns the creation thereof to an anterior order of priests, of the Buddhist faith, who far exceeded the Druids in astronomy and learning.

Astronomy was a branch [of learning] of much importance among the Druids — for festivals etc.— certain times of the moon, constellations etc. being important.

"The national religion has been in almost all cases, the principal cement, of the national civilization."

(Don't be too severe on old religious delusions — or modern ones either.)

When the Romans ruled, the Britons adopted largely the Latin language and applied the youth to Latin literature and art.

Schools (Roman) were established in all British towns.

Juvenal.— End of 1st and beginning of 20th century.

Thule (?) was the most northern land known to the ancients (Romans and Greeks).

Manners and customs.

Aboriginal Britons before Cæsar — houses contained rude, plain furniture — tables — stools — beds etc.

1856 edition it stands: "I see where Druids walked the groves of Mona, I see the mistletoe and vervain." The line was not changed after that except to convert "walked" into "walk'd."

Cannibalism is attributed to them.

Personal appearance.—Large limbs, and great muscular strength.

Warlike British weapons—page 121, Vol. I., *Pict. Hist.*

Marriage—"matrimonial clubs"—wives in common. Women were honored and respected.

Not savage neither civilized.—But partaking in parts of both, was the condition (summed up) of the aboriginal Britons, before Cæsar. They probably had wide diversities of condition both from individual to individual, and from tribe to tribe.

From the arrival [of the] Saxons 449 A.D. to that of the Normans 1066 A.D.

Saxon—some say from—Seax, the short Baltic sword—others say from (and this most likely) Sakai-suna, or descendants of the sakai, or Sacae, a tribe of Scythians, who were making their way toward Europe as early as the age of Cyrus.

"Saxons"—name applied to different tribes. They were all of the pure Teutonic or Gothic blood. All their kings claimed descent from Woden or Odin.

Vortigern, smitten with Romena, daughter of Hengist, at a feast—"Dear King—your health" (Wassail).

Saxons settled plentifully—chastised the northern Scots and Picts—soon quarrels arose—Britons

revolted from any obedience to them — Britons and Romish remnants made common cause.

The two centuries after the Saxons' arrival are dark and perplexing historically.

Feast of Reconciliation — Saxons "unsheath your swords" — Britons slain.

Eric son of Hengist, King of Kent.

A.D. 477 — Ella the Saxon, with his three sons, and a large force landed in Sussex — fought — succeeded — King of the "South Saxons."

Cerdric (Wessex) — King of West Saxons.

527 — Ercenwine [?] landing, succeeding, north of the Thames, founded Essex — King of the "East Saxons."

Suffolk — from South folk.

Norfolk — from North folk.

470 — Gaul was overrun by the Visigoths. 12,000 British left Cornwall to take part in this war (!).

Heptarchy — the seven separate and independent States or Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. Saxons mixed interpenetratingly with the British, the Roman residuum, and all "Rustics."

A.D. 647 — The Resistants — the people of Strathclyde and Cumbria — their disposition fierce and warlike — retreated fought courageously — defeat followed them — submitted (A.D. 647) to the Anglo-Saxons "who by this time may be called the English." "In this rapid sketch — Saxon conquest — which

seems in amount to have occupied nearly 200 years."

"Arthur" *Pict. Hist.* thinks a mythical personage. — He seems to have been an obstinate and bold resistant of the Saxons.

"Bretwalda" — Lord Paramount "Wielder" of Brit. (the seven States Saxon).

510 — Ella, Sussex (South Saxons).

568 — Calwin, King of Wessex, stepped into the Sussex dignity too.

Ethelbert, fourth King of Kent.

"For long before the Anglo Saxons subdued the Britons they made fierce war upon one another."

593 — Ethelbert became Bretwalda.

Christianity — Ethelbert converted, with all his Court, by Augustine and forty Italian monks, sent into Britain by Gregory the Great. — He had espoused a Christian wife before (which accounts for it).

Ethelbert's close connection with the Christians and civilized nations of the continent, and his frequent having to do with churchmen proved beneficial to England.

Laws. In the code of laws Ethelbert published before his death — indebted to the suggestions and science of foreigners — although the code has more the spirit of the old German lawgivers, than of Justinian and the Roman juris consults. This code was not octroyed as from an absolute sovereign (a

quality to which none of the Saxon princes ever attained), but was enacted by Ethelbert with the consent of the States — formed the first code of written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors.

616 — Death of Ethelbert, who seems to have been a thoughtful and superior prince.

616 — Eadbald, son of Ethelbert, enamored of his stepmother, broke with the Christians and returned to the old Teutonic idolatry. The whole Kentish people set up again the rude Scandinavian altars.

The priest Laurentius persuaded Eadbald to come back again to Christianity, and the people, en masse, obsequiously followed.

617 — Bretwalda passed to Redwald, the Angle (the first three Bretwaldas had been Jutes). Redwald was a "kind of Christian."

621 — Edwin the fifth Bretwalda — Northumbrian — converted fully — his people followed. In writing to him (625) the Pope styles Edwin "Rex Anglorum" — King of the Angles.

633 — Penda the Saxon prince of Mercia rebelled.

Walt Whitman and the Children
From a photograph

Part V

List of Certain Magazine and Newspaper Articles Studied and Preserved by Walt Whitman and Found in his Scrapbooks and Among his Papers

Part V

List of Certain Magazine and Newspaper Articles Studied and Preserved by Walt Whitman and Found in his Scrapbooks and Among his Papers

1. An account of Buffon.

2. A long article on "French Literature" under date 4 May, '57.

3. A piece on "Driden and the poet John Clare" dated by W. April, '57.

4. Then follows a long magazine article dated Nov., '45, on "The French Moralists — La Bruyère, Montaigne, Nicole." It has been carefully read and is profusely scored and annotated on the margin.

5. Next we have what seems to be a piece of a paper covered book. It consists of an article on "Civilization" by Guizot translated from his *Hist. Gen. de la Civilization en Europe.*

6. Then quite a long newspaper piece, "The Old Regimé and the Revolution." Dated by W. Oct., '56. He writes at its head, "Deserves re-reading."

7. Now a long magazine article dated Feb., '49,

on, "The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art." It has been carefully read and is a good deal scored and otherwise marked.

8. A newspaper piece on "Lewes' Life of Goethe."

9. Another on "Goethe in Old Age."

10. A newspaper piece on "Records of Mortality."

11. Another on "James Gates Percival."

12. Next one on "Death and Burial of Edgar A. Poe."

13. Then follows a long magazine article, dated Dec., '46, on Longfellow's "Poets and Poetry of Europe" — has been read carefully, is freely scored and annotated on margin.

14. And another magazine article, Oct., '45, on "Scotch School of Philosophy and Criticism"; the writer speaks of critics "resting on a negative basis, much more industrious to prevent the tenets of others than even to propogate their own" on which W. has marginal note: "As Voltaire for instance, of whom so vast a portion of present writers are followers often without knowing it themselves."

15. At end of this comes a newspaper piece on "Cato the Younger."

16. A newspaper piece on "Cowper," at head of which W. has written, "Cowper 1731 — 1800 — an ennuyeed poet."

17. A newspaper notice of "Emerson's English Traits" — dated in pencil by W. August, 1856.

18. A newspaper report of a lecture on Cowper by Rev. G. B. Cheever.

19. Part of a magazine article on "Beattie's Life of Campbell" — date of magazine July, '49.

20. Newspaper article on "Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell."

21. A newspaper article on "John Bunyan" with following words by W. at head,— "Bunyan 1628 — 1688 — 1688 Swedenborg born."

22. A newspaper report of a speech by Mr. Burke made on St. Patrick's, at foot W. writes — "Brooklyn *Eagle,* 18 March, '57."

23. Some leaves detached from the book to which they belonged containing "Macaulay's Essay on Bunyan" — headed by W. with the words, "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress" — the essay has been carefully read, is much scored and in one place annotated on margin, "Brava!"

24. Magazine article (*Harper,* I think) on "Robert Southey," May, 1851, has been carefully read, freely scored.

25. Another magazine article, same date as 24, on "Waller and Marvell," has been carefully read.

26. A short piece on "Crabbe" annotated.

27. A paragraph headed in W.'s hand: "Great Cockney Poets."

28. Again from same *Harper* (?) May, 1851 — a piece, "The Prelude," being a review of Wordsworth poem so named — a marginal note on it runs as follows: "So it seems Wordsworth made a 'good thing' from the start out of his poetry. Legacies! a fat office! pensions from the crown!"

29. A newspaper piece on "the History of the Roman Republic."

30. A newspaper piece on "Death of Auguste Comte."

31. Newspaper piece on "Paolo Giocometti" taken from N. Y. *Herald* 8 Sept., '56.

32. Newspaper cutting headed "An Art Heretic."

33. A magazine article dated Nov., '48, on "Milne's Life of Keats" — closely read.

34. A long article cut from N. Y. *Tribune* on "Douglas Jerrold," dated by W. 23 April, '59.

35. Newspaper piece on the "Revue des Deux Mondes."

36. Part of a magazine article on "Vaughan's Poems etc.," been carefully read, dated May, '49.

37. Magazine article, "Recollections of Poets Laureate, Wordsworth and Tennyson," dated June, '52.

38. Newspaper piece, "Poets Painted by Each Other."

39. A long newspaper piece on "Emerson's English Traits," which was published 1856.

40. A magazine article on "Modern English Poets"—date of magazine Dec., 1851. W. writes on front leaf, "Bells and Pomegranates, Robert Browning. Casa Guidi Windows, Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Dec., '56, Aurora Leigh, a new poem by Mrs. Browning." This last no doubt the date when piece read by W.

41. A piece on Montaigne.

42. A magazine article on "Wordsworth," carefully read and annotated.

43. A poem of Wordsworth's on "The First Mild Day of March."

44. A piece on "Plutarch."

45. A long magazine article, date Oct., '49, on "Tennyson, Shelley and Keats"—carefully read and profusely annotated.

46. A piece on "Jeremy Taylor."

47. On "Tobias Smollet."

48. On "Blaise Pascal."

49. On "Benjamin Franklin."

50. A long, carefully read and much annotated magazine piece (April, '49) on Taylor's "Eve of the Conquest."

51. Coleridge's "Dejection,—an ode." Torn out of the book to which it belonged, and pasted in.

52. A long, carefully read and much scored magazine article (May, '48) on "Tennyson's Poems —The Princess."

53. A long magazine article (April, '49) carefully read and elaborately scored.

54. A long magazine article (Oct., '51) on "The Hyperion of John Keats," carefully read, elaborately scored and annotated on margin.

55. A newspaper piece on "Oliver Goldsmith."

56. Newspaper piece on "Death of Hugh Miller." —N. Y. *Sun,* 13 Jan., '57.

57. Lists of names of arts and sciences pasted in scrapbook and annotated.

58. List of names of capitals pasted in scrapbook and annotated.

59. A geography bound up with scrapbook, has been annotated here and there.

60. Newspaper piece, "How America was Peopled."

61. Newspaper piece, "Remarkable Works of Human Labor."

62. Newspaper piece, "Is the Sun Inhabited?"

63. " " "Comets."

64. " " "The Great Comet."

65. " " "Comets, their History and Habits."

66. Newspaper piece, "Dr. Boynton's Sixth Lecture."

67. Newspaper piece, "Inauguration of Dudley Observatory."

68. Newspaper piece, "Geological Lecture."

69. Long newspaper report of a lecture on the "Progress of Science," New York daily *Times,* 29th Aug., '56.

70. Newspaper report, "The Donati Comet."

71. Long newspaper report of "Scientific Convention at Montreal," 12th Aug., '57.

72. Newspaper report of "Dr. Boynton's Second Lecture."

73. A magazine article dated April, '49, on "The Physical Atlas."

74. Newspaper review of Miller's "Testimony of the Rocks," 10th Oct., '57.

75. Long lists of geographical names pasted in — many of them marked.

76. Newspaper piece, "Raleigh's History."

77. " " "Seven Wonders of the World."

78. "Imagination and Fact" from *Graham's Magazine,* scored and annotated.

79. Newspaper piece, "Gold and Silver in the World."

80. Newspaper piece, "Divisions of the Bible."

81. " " "Comparative Health of the United States."

82. Newspaper piece, "Oldest Man in America."

83. " " "Differences of Time."

84. " " "Ship Building."

85. " " "Tin."

86. Newspaper piece, "Immensity."
87. " " "Temperature of the Earth."
88. Newspaper piece, "Weekly Report of Deaths."
89. Newspaper piece, "Origin of Coal."
90. " " "Scenes on the Ocean Floor."
91. Newspaper piece, "Roads and Railways."
92. " " "Foreign Postage."
93. Newspaper piece, N. Y. *Times,* '57, "Sailing and Steamships."
94. Newspaper piece, "A Translation from a Cuneiform Inscription."
95. Newspaper piece, "The Rossetta Stone."
96. Newspaper report of lecture by W. S. Studley.
97. Newspaper cutting, "Wild Men of Borneo."
98. " " "Fourier and His Ideals."
99. " " "Languages and Religions."
100. Newspaper cutting, "Religious Beliefs."
101. A very long magazine article scored and annotated, "The Slavonians and Eastern Europe."
102. A series of maps showing the geography of various ages from earliest times to 19th century.
103. Newspaper cutting, "Books Mentioned in the Bible now Lost or Unknown."
104. Newspaper cutting, "Bunsen's Chronology."

105. Newspaper cutting, "Discovery of America."

106. " " "Population of the World."

107. Newspaper cutting, "Plants and Animals."

108. " " "Man not Deteriorating."

109. A sort of pamphlet (pasted in) headed, "One Thousand Historical Events." It is scored and annotated.

110. A long magazine article on "Sir John Herschel, of date Feb., '48.

111. A long magazine article on "Layard's Nineveh," of date May, '49.

112. Newspaper cutting on "Key West."

113. A very long magazine article on "Early Roman History," (no date) scored and annotated.

114. Magazine article on "Arnold's Lectures on Modern History," has been carefully read — scored.

115. Newspaper cutting, "Physiology of the Earth."

116. Newspaper cutting, "Statistics of Population and Religion."

117. Newspaper cutting, "Our Country."

118. " " "With whom we Trade."

119. " " "The National Revenue."

120. " " "Who Our Soldiers Are."

121. Newspaper cutting, "List of Patents Issued."

122. Newspaper cutting, "Army and Militia."
123. " " "The State of New York."
124. Newspaper cutting, "The Salt Manufacture."
125. Governor King's message in New York *Times,* 6th Jan., '58.
126. Newspaper cutting, "The Chesapeake and Great Lakes United."
127. Newspaper cutting, "Amount of Salt Made."
128. " " "A Rich Slave Owner."
129. " " "Oyster Beds of Virginia."
130. Newspaper cutting, "The Southern States, by an English Traveler."
131. Newspaper cutting, "Cultivation of Cotton."
132. " " "Products of Texas."
133. " " "Carrying Mail to California."
134. Newspaper cutting, "The Great West."
135. " " "Notes on the Missouri River."
136. Newspaper cutting, "A Letter to the Newsboys."
137. Newspaper cutting, "Killed an Otter."
138. " " "Our Large Pictures."
139. " " "Bridge at St. Louis."
140. " " "Statistics of Ohio."
141. " " "Madison, Wis."

142. Newspaper cutting, "Wisconsin and its Capital."

143. Newspaper cutting, "Lake Superior Copper and Iron."

144. Newspaper cutting, "Oshkosh, Wis."

145. *Harper's Weekly*, 17 Jan., '57 — "Modern Naples."

146. Newspaper cutting, "Glimpses of Iowa."

147. " " "New States."

148. " " "Size of America."

149. " " "Literary Institutions."

150. " " "Crops of '56."

151. " " "U. S. Army."

152. " " "Bayard Taylor in Northern Europe."

153. Newspaper cutting, "The Victoria Bridge."

154. "Scenes in New Brunswick," in *Ballou's Pictorial.*

155. "A Ranger's Life in Nicaragua," *Harper's Weekly,* 25 April, '57.

156. Newspaper cutting, "Product of the Mexican Mines."

157. "News from New Granada," New York *Herald,* 29 March, '57.

158. Newspaper cutting, "Something about the Bay Islands."

159. Newspaper cutting, "The Five Republics of Central America."

160. Newspaper cutting, "Guatemala."

161. " " "Why there is no Rain in Peru."

162. Magazine review article on Prescott's "Peru," under date Aug., '47.

163. A chapter descriptive of the country from a book called, "Travels in Peru."

164. Newspaper cutting, "From Chili."

165. " " "The Commerce of La Plata."

166. Newspaper cutting, "The Brazilian Empire."

167. "The Royal Families of Europe," New York *Herald,* 21 Feb., '58.

168. "European Correspondence," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 11 Dec., '57.

169. "Foreign Correspondence," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 9 Jan., '58.

170. Magazine article on "Present State of the British Empire."

171. Newspaper cutting, "A Tunnel from England to France."

172. "Excursion to Pompeii," Burlington *Free Press,* 1 Jan., '58.

173. "Italian Travel," New York *Times,* 26 Dec., '57.

174. A newspaper piece, "From Rome"—W.'s note at head of it: "A Traveling Sight-seer's Day in Rome—the usual things to look after—an artist-

teacher — his studio — well written — rollicking. Date is March, 1857."

175. "Bayard Taylor in Southern Europe," a letter dated 27 April, '58 — printed in New York *Tribune.*

176. "The Sultan and his People," *Am. Phrenological Journal,* May, '57.

177. On the "Egyptian Museum" in *Life Illustrated,* 8 Dec., '55.

178. Correspondence from Amsterdam, Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 12 Oct., '58.

179. Long newspaper piece — letter from Copenhagen, dated 11 Aug., '57.

180. Long newspaper piece — letter from Stockholm, 19 Aug., '57.

181. Bayard Taylor, letter from St. Petersburg, in New York *Tribune,* 2 Nov., '58.

182. A newspaper piece, "The Census of Russia."

183. " " "Railroads of Russia," N. Y. *Tribune,* April, '57.

184. A newspaper piece, "Russian Serfs."

185. " " "Different African Races."

186. A newspaper piece, "The French in Algeria."

187. " " "The Nile."

188. " " "Population of Egypt."

189. "Barth's Travels in Africa," *Harper's Weekly,* 12 Sept., '57.

190. Long newspaper piece on "Barth's Discoveries in Central Africa."

191. Long newspaper piece on "Travels in Egypt."

192. Long newspaper piece on "Livingstone's Travels in Africa."

193. Long newspaper piece on "Capital of Egypt."

194. "Sketches in Sierra Leone" in *Ballou's Pictorial.*

195. Newspaper piece, "The Sphynx."

196. "Livingstone's Travels etc. Africa," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle.*

197. Newspaper piece, "Rev. Dr. Livingstone."

198. " " "Travels in South Africa."

199. Long piece *re* RR. Mediteranean to Persian Gulf, New York *Tribune,* 20th March, '57.

200. Newspaper piece on "Jerusalem."

201. Magazine article on "The River Jordan and the Dead Sea."

202. "About Moscow in Russia," *Life Illustrated,* N. Y., 6th Dec., '56.

203. A long newspaper piece on "The Rivalry between England and Russia and Asia."

204. A long newspaper piece on "Sectarianism Among the Turks."

205. A long newspaper piece on "The Holy Land."

206. A long newspaper piece on "Royal Family of Persia."

207. Newspaper piece, "Overland Mail to India and China."

208. Newspaper piece, "Geographical Discoveries of a Quarter of a Century."

209. Newspaper piece, "How Ghoorkas Can Whip Sepoys."

210. A long newspaper piece, "The Indian Empire."

211. A long newspaper piece, "Annexation in India."

212. Newspaper piece, "The Hunting in India."

213. " " "The Revolt in India."

214. A long newspaper piece, "The Nucleus of the Indian Mutiny."

215. A long newspaper piece, "British Empire in India," Oct., '57.

216. "History of the East India Company," *Harper's Weekly,* 24 Oct., '57.

217. "Juggernauth," *Harper's Weekly,* 26th Sept., '57.

218. Newspaper piece, "Burmah."

219. " " "Lecture on India."

220. " " "Commercial Relations with Siam."

221. Newspaper piece, "Interests of Russia in China."

222. Newspaper piece, "The Two Kings of Siam."

223. Newspaper piece, "Printing in China."

224. " " "Mantchoo Tartars."

225. " " "Emperor of China."

226. " " "A Brief History of China."

227. "China—History of Allied Expedition," N.Y. *Times,* 20 Aug., '58.

228. "The Chinese," *Harper's Weekly,* 25 April, '57.

229. Magazine article, "The Central Nation" (i. e. China), April, '52.

230. A magazine article, "China and the Chinese," April, '57.

231. Newspaper piece, "Migrations of Chinese."

232. " " "Navigation of the Yang-tse-Kiang."

233. Newspaper piece, "A Day Among the Whales in the Sea of Japan."

234. Newspaper piece, "Japanese Becoming Less Exclusive."

235. Long newspaper piece, "Cruise of Sloop of War *John Adams,*" 16 Jan., '57.

236. Long newspaper piece, "Japan."

237. Newspaper piece, "The Turkish Question."

238. " " "Indians in Oregon and Washington."

239. Newspaper piece, "The Gila Expedition."
240. " " "The Gila Gold Mines."
241. " " "Dr. De Hass on American Antiquities."
242. Newspaper piece, "Utah and the Great Basin," 1 Jan., '59.
243. Long newspaper piece, "Exploration of the Amoor," 21 Dec., '58.
244. Long newspaper piece, "Saginaw Valley."
245. " " " "Central America."
246. " " " "Russian Settlements on Amoor River," 21 Dec., '57.
247. Long newspaper piece, "Physical Constitution of the Sun."
248. "Preadamite Man," Brooklyn daily *Eagle,* 24 Oct., '60.
249. Long newspaper piece, "Pacific Railroad — Overland to California."
250. Long newspaper piece, "The Great Pacific Railway Treasury Robbing."
251. Long newspaper piece, "Overland Communication with the Pacific."
252. Long newspaper piece, "Life in the Pacific Territories."
253. "India, Its Physical Features etc.," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 16 Mar., '59.
254. Very long newspaper piece, "The Russian Empire."

255. Newspaper report of an oration by Edward Everett at Albany, 28 Aug., '56.

256. Report of American Association for the Advancement of Science—Albany meeting, 22 Aug.,'56.

257. Newspaper paragraph, "The Proposed Territory of Arizona."

258. Long newspaper piece, "Fisheries of Puget Sound."

259. Long newspaper piece, "Am. Ass. for the Advancement of Science"—27 Aug., '56.

260. Long newspaper piece, "Am. Ass. for the Advancement of Science"—23 Aug., '56.

261. Long newspaper piece, "Am. Ass. for the Advancement of Science"—25 Aug., '56.

262. "Scientific Congress," N. Y. *Herald,* 28 Aug., '56.

263. "Scientific Congress," N. Y. *Herald,* 26 Aug., '56.

264. Newspaper piece, "Raleigh."

265. " " "Bacon."

266. " " on Delia Bacon.

267. " " "Character of Lord Bacon."

268. Newspaper piece, "Shakespeare."

269. " " "Shakespeare as a Man."

270. " " "Shakespeare's Stage."

271. " " "The Stage in Shakespeare's Time."

272. Magazine article, "Samuel Johnson."

273. Newspaper report of oration on "Shakespeare," by Richard O'Gorman, dated 21 April, '57.

274. Magazine article, "Shakespeare vs. Sand," dated May, '47.

275. Newspaper piece, "Philip Massinger."

276. " " "Thos. Dekker."

277. " " "Hume."

278. " " "The New Jerusalem."

279. " " "Voltaire."

280. " " "Beranger."

281. " " "Pierre Jean de Beranger."

282. " " "Death of Beranger."

283. " " "Beranger's Lyrics."

284. " " "Shakespeare — His Life and Text."

285. Magazine article, "Shakespeare's Sonnets."

286. "The Works of Alexander Pope," *North British Review*, Aug., '48, scored and annotated.

287. "Imitation of Horace — by Pope" — torn from a book and pasted in.

288. Magazine article, "Robert Southey," date Feb., '51.

289. Newspaper piece, "Robert Burns."

290. Several leaves apparently torn from a book — "Scottish Poetry" — selections.

291. Newspaper report of lecture by Milburn on "Dante and Milton."

292. Newspaper piece, "Dr. William Harvey."

293. Magazine article, "Egotism," date March, '45.

294. Newspaper piece, "Joseph Addison."

295. " " "David Hume."

296. " " "Dean Swift."

297. " " "Poverty of Poets."

298. " " "Vanity of Poets."

299. Magazine article, "Characteristics of Shelley."

300. Shelley's "Ode to the Sky-Lark," apparently torn out of a book and pasted in. N.B.—Seems as if W. had a book or books of selections and that he used leaves from it to fill out pictures of men which were made up in his scrapbooks by newspaper pieces etc. etc.

301. "Ancient English Popular Ballads," some half-dozen leaves torn from a book and pasted in.

302. "John Wickliffe," from a book.

303. "Geoffrey Chaucer," from a book.

304. Newspaper piece, "John Froisart."

305. "Chaucer," torn from a book and pasted in, much scored and annotated.

306. Newspaper piece, "William Hazlitt."

307. "Literature of the Age of Elizabeth," torn from a book and pasted in, much scored and annotated.

308. Magazine article, "Sir Philip Sidney."

309. "Editor's Table," annotated.

310. Spencer's "Hymn of Heavenly Beauty," torn from a book and pasted in.

311. Magazine article, "Literature of Middle Ages," dated July, '49, much scored and annotated.

312. "Death of Gerard de Nerval," N. Y. *Tribune,* 17 Feb., '55.

313. Newspaper piece, "Alexander Von Humboldt etc."

314. Magazine article, "Chaucer," profusely scored and annotated.

315. Newspaper piece, "Our Poets."

316. " " "Owen Meredith."

317. " " "Ages of some Living writers."

318. Newspaper piece, "The Waverley Novels."

319. " " "English and Scottish Ballads."

320. Newspaper piece, "The Poet Jasmin."

321. " " "Ossian's Hymn to the Sun."

322. Newspaper piece, "Margaret Fuller on Ossian."

323. "Ossian," torn from a book.

324. "Macpherson," torn from another book.

325. "The Fine Arts," torn from a book.

326. Newspaper piece, "Chinese Popular Literature."

327. Magazine article, "Chaucer," dated Feb., '49.

328. Newspaper piece, "Death of Alfred de Musset, called The French Tennyson."

329. Newspaper piece, "The Saga."

330. "Provençal and Scandinavian Poetry," *Edinburgh Review,* July, '48, much scored and annotated.

331. "A Turkish Ode—Mesihi," torn from a book.

332. Newspaper piece, "Persian Poetry."

333. Leaves from a book, "Gems of Wisdom."

334. "Golden Verses of Pythagoras," torn from a book.

335. Newspaper piece *re* Siamese poetry.

336. " " "Chronology of the Hindoos."

337. Leaves torn from a book, "The Psalms."

338. Magazine article, "Indian Epic Poetry," dated Oct., '48, much scored and annotated.

339. "The Hindu Drama," magazine article dated April, '57, much scored and annotated.

340. "Thackeray and Carlyle," newspaper piece.

341. Extract from Carlyle's "Past and Present," torn from a book, annotated.

342. Newspaper piece, "Leigh Hunt."

343. " " "England During War."

344. Leaves torn from a book on the "Heetopades of Veeshnoo Sarma."

345. "Adam's Morning Hymn" (Milton), a piece torn from a book.

346. Newspaper piece, "Daily Life of Milton."

347. " " "Horace and Byron."

348. Newspaper report of lecture by G. W. Curtis on "English Fiction."

349. Magazine piece on "Plato."

350. "Anacreon," a piece torn from a book.

351. Newspaper piece, "Juvenal and Perseus."

352. "Christopher under Canvas," torn from a book, much scored and annotated.

353. Scrap torn from a book on "Science."

354. "Orestes: a Tragedy," torn from a book, annotated.

355. Newspaper piece on "Pindar."

356. " " "Ages of Foreign Living Writers."

357. Magazine article, "Petrarch," May, '45.

358. Newspaper piece, "Future America."

359. " " "Travel."

360. " " "Night in Australia."

361. " " "Snelling."

362. " " "Size of a Whale."

363. " " "A Day on a Rice Plantation."

364. Newspaper piece, "An Enormous Ape."

365. " " "Senseless Brains."

366. " " "The Senses."

367. Newspaper piece, "The Army Men in Portland."

368. Newspaper piece, "Nicknames."

369. " " "American Inventions."

370. " " "Origin of the Name America."

371. Newspaper piece, "A Well-Balanced Mind."

372. " " "Attraction Between the Sexes." Two last very much scored.

373. Magazine — "The Social Revolutionist," July, '57. Some of articles scored.

374. Newspaper piece, "Remarkable Individual."

375. " " "Longevity."

376. " " "Phrenology."

377. " " another piece on "Longevity."

378. Newspaper piece, "The Chaplain Elect of the House."

379. Newspaper piece, "Cheerfulness."

380. " " "Personal Magnetism."

381. " " "The Standard Civilized Head."

382. Newspaper piece, "Night Eating."

383. " " "Heathen Gods and Goddesses."

384. Newspaper piece, "The Muses."

385. Magazine (*Edinburgh Review*) article, April, '49, "On Books."

386. Magazine (*Edinburgh Review*) article, April, '49, "Recorded Ages Attained by Man."

387. Newspaper piece, "A Good Old Age."

388. " " "Population of the World."

389. Newspaper piece, "Poetical Works of Gerald Massey."

390. Newspaper piece, "Book-making in the United States."

391. Newspaper piece, "Newspapers in the World."

392. Newspaper piece, "Literature and the Book Trade in the United States."

393. Newspaper piece, "Industrial Intelligence."

394. Magazine article, "The Vanity and the Glory of Literature," April, '49.

395. Newspaper piece, "Sanscrit Professorship at Cambridge," April, '49, much scored and annotated.

396. Newspaper piece, "Socratic Philosophy."

397. " " "Culture."

398. " " "Robert Burns."

399. " " "Counsel."

400. Magazine article, "Progress — Its Law and Cause," April, '57, much scored and annotated.

401. Magazine article, "Literature and Society," April, '57, much scored.

402. Torn from a book, "What is Poetry?"; much scored and annotated.

403. Newspaper piece, "Homer in English Hexameters."

404. Magazine article, "Translators of Homer," much scored and annotated.

405. Long newspaper piece (N. Y. Daily *Tribune,* 10 Feb., '70), "Mr. Bryant's Translation of Homer."

406. Magazine review of "Bryant's Translation of the Iliad."

407. Newspaper cutting, "The Unity of the Bible," scored.

408. Newspaper cutting, "The Physique of the Brain from a Literary Life," scored.

409. Newspaper cutting, "Walking."

410. Newspaper cutting, "Human and Animal Magnetism," long piece, much scored.

411. Newspaper cutting, "Life-force — Its Philosophy," long piece, much scored.

412. Magazine article, date Dec., '51, "Theories of Evil," much scored and annotated.

413. Newspaper piece on a Russian ~~poe~~t, Akinf Jwanowitch Ul'Jonov.

414. Newspaper piece on "Contemporary Russian Literature," N. Y. *Tribune,* 26 March, '57.

415. Newspaper piece, "The Winds."

416. Magazine article on "Festus," date Dec.,' 45.

417. " " "Hymn of Callimachus: a translation."

418. Magazine article on "Miss Barrett's Poems," date Jan., '45.

419. "Resumé of Life of Rogers," in *Am. Phrenological Journal* for Aug., '56.

420. Magazine article, Jan., '51, "Lessing's Laocoön," much scored and annotated.

421. Magazine article, Sept., '55, on "Rachel."

422. A long newspaper piece ('57) on the "Death of Eugene Sue."

423. A piece torn from a book, "Criticism on Don Quixote."

424. Magazine article by J. D. W., Jan., '46, "Phrenology — a Socratic Dialogue," good deal scored.

425. Magazine article, "On Style" (W. W. writes at top, "By J. D. Whelpley, I think"), very freely scored.

426. Piece torn from a book on "Chaucer," freely scored.

427. Piece torn from a book on "American Literature." W. W. writes on it, "Margaret Fuller." So probably by her.

428. Newspaper piece on "Hiawatha and Kalewala," showing that former imitated from latter.

429. Piece torn from a book: "A short Essay on Critics." Much scored.

430. Piece torn from a book: "Poet Critic."

431. Piece torn from a book: "Writings of Cornelius Mathews." W. W. writes: "By W. G. Simms. Very fine."

432. A magazine piece (Sept., '55), "New English Poets."

433. A magazine piece (May, '47), "The Prose Writers of America."

434. A magazine piece, "New Poetry in New England."

435. Magazine article (April, '52,) "Styles, American and Foreign."

436. Newspaper cutting, "Mr. Gottschalk's Soiree."

437. Torn from a book, "Poetry of Spain."

438. Magazine article (May, '39), "America and the Early English Poets."

439. Magazine article (May, '45), "Thoughts on Reading," much scored and annotated.

440. Magazine article, "The Pleasures of the Pen," Jan., '47.

441. Magazine article (March, '47), "Localities of the Learned."

442. Magazine article, (April, '47), "Last Words of the Learned."

443. Newspaper piece on "Death of Quintana, Prince of Castilian Poets."

444. Magazine article (Feb., '45), "Words," scored.

445. Newspaper piece on "Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*," W. W. writes on its margin: "Letter, N. Y. Daily *Times,* Dec., '55.

446. Magazine article (Sept., '49), "The Strayed Reveller."

447. Newspaper piece on "Victor Hugo."

448. Magazine article (March, '53), "To the Author of 'The Poet.'"

449. "The Book Trade," N. Y. *Herald,* 6 Dec., '57.

450. "Literary Prospects of the Season," N. Y. *Herald,* 11 Sept., 56.

451. Magazine article (Sept., '55), "New English Poets."

452. Newspaper piece on "Isaac Watts."

453. " " "Prof. Henry." — W. W. writes on margin: "Aug. 23, 1856 — *Eagle.*"

454. Newspaper piece on opera *Saffo.*

455. " cutting, "The Rejected Poem."

456. " " Emerson's "Brahma."

457. " " "Statistics of the Book Trade."

458. Newspaper cutting, "Songs of England and Scotland."

459. Newspaper cutting, "John Greenleaf Whittier."

460. "Moose Hunting in Canada," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated,* 15 Jan., '59.

461. Newspaper piece, "Remittances to the Old Country," dated by W. W., Feb., '54.

462. Newspaper piece, "Arrival of the *Antarctic* at Liverpool," Jan., '54.

463. Newspaper piece, "Necessity of a Pacific R. R.," 26 Nov., '58.

464. Newspaper piece, "An Ancient Relic."

465. " " "Importance of the Compass."

466. Newspaper piece, "Sleigh-riding."

467. Magazine piece, "Prospects of the Legal Profession in America," Jan., '46.

468. Magazine piece, "Ancient Practice of Painting," April, '49.

469. Magazine piece, "Society and Civilization," by John Quincy Adams, July, '45.

470. Magazine piece, "Sismondi the Historian," April, '47.

471. Newspaper piece on "Wild Animals and Fish."

472. Newspaper piece, "The Lost Arts."

473. " " "Fugitive Slave Case."

474. " " "Colonization of American Continent."

475. Newspaper piece on "National Dances."

476. " " "Lowest Class of Animals."

477. Newspaper piece on "An American Woman in Paris," 24th Dec., '53.

478. Newspaper piece on "Chivalry."

479. " " "Dr. Boynton's Sixth Lecture on Geology."

480. Newspaper piece on "Interesting Slave Trial."

481. Newspaper piece on "The Wyandotte," April, '54.

482. Newspaper piece on "American Travel," Oct., '53.

483. Newspaper piece on "Cruelty of the Persians."

484. Newspaper piece on "Humboldt's Cosmos."

485. Newspaper piece on "Facts from History," dated by W. W., "*Tribune,* 27 March, '54."

486. Newspaper piece on "Negro Saturnalia."

487. " " "Ascent of Mount Popocatepetl," dated by W. W., "*Tribune,* 23 March, '54."

488. Newspaper piece on "France — Americans at Court," Paris, 9 Jan., '54.

489. Newspaper piece on "Sentiments of the Mormons."

490. Newspaper piece on "Modern Books and Libraries."

491. Newspaper piece on "Errors in Printing Bible."

492. Newspaper piece on "Lecture on France," 27 Jan., '54.

493. Newspaper piece on "Animal Life on the Globe," 21 Feb., '59.

494. Magazine article, "Journalism," Sept., '46.

495. Torn from a book, "Hume," "Washington," "Napoleon Bonaparte," "Aurengzebe."

496. Newspaper piece, "Division of Time by the Ancient Nations."

497. Newspaper piece, "New England and the African Slave Trade."

498. Newspaper piece, "The Tombs of Egypt."

499. " " "Trilobites."

500. "Cosmos Clock," in *American Phrenological Journal,* March, '54.

501. Newspaper piece, "A Chapter on Navies and Naval Curiosities."

502. Newspaper piece, "The Amazon Basin."

503. The New York *Clipper,* 30 Oct., '58, containing full account of fight between Heenan and Morrissey.

504. Magazine article, "Architecture," April, '49.

505. "Niebuhr," *North British Review,* Feb., '49. —W. W.'s note: "Founder of a New Theory of History."

506. Magazine article, "Physiognomy," Jan., '52.

507. " " "Margaret Fuller Ossoli," April, '52.

508. Magazine article, "Lyell's Geological Tour," Sept., '45.

509. Magazine article, "Life and Times of Wm. H. Crawford," April, '52.

510. Magazine article, "Christopher Under Canvas," Aug., '49.

511. Magazine article, "Constantinople in the 4th Century."

512. Magazine article, "The Germanic Empire," July, '48.

513. Magazine article, "The Mississippi Valley," May, '47.

514. Magazine article, "Ireland," May, '47.

515. " " "Laws of Menu," May, '45.

516. "The Dying Gladiator," The *Penny Magazine,* 12 Jan., '33.

517. Magazine piece, "The American Mind," *Harper's,* no date.

518. Magazine piece, "Botany," July, '49.

519. " " "Nationality in Literature," March, '47.

520. Magazine piece, "System of Positive Philosophy," scored, March, '47.

521. Magazine piece, "Physical Atlas," August, '48.

522. " " "Narrative of the French Revolution of 1848," *North British Review,* May, '48.

523. Magazine article, "Herschel — Southern Heavens," July, '48.

524. Magazine article, "Physical Geography," May, '48.

525. Magazine article, "Hungary," July, '49.

526. " " "Earthquakes in New Zealand," *Westminster Review,* July, '49.

527. "The Philosophy of Art," by Charles G. Leland, in *Sartain's Magazine,* no date.

528. "The Head of Christ," Leland, *Sartain's Magazine,* no date.

529. Newspaper piece, "Taste."

530. " " "Political Division of World."

531. Newspaper piece, "Tammany Hall."

532. Magazine article, "Architecture," April, '49.

533. "The Romantic in Literature and Art," C. G. Leland, *Sartain's Magazine,* no date. W. notes in pencil: "This essay has many good suggestions, its principal fault is that 'Romantic' is not the right word to use as used in it (what should be the word?)"

534. Newspaper piece, "Populousness of China."

535. Magazine article, "The Legal Profession, Ancient and Modern," Sept., '46.

536. Magazine article, "Sacred and Legendary Art," April, '49.

537. Magazine article, "Indian Mounds."

538. New York *Herald,* 31 Oct., '58, "Overland Route to the Pacific."

539. Newspaper piece on "Indians of Long Island."

540. Newspaper piece on "Singular Fact."

541. " " "Grains, Vegetables and Flowers."

542. Magazine article, "Historical Traditions of Tennessee," March, 1852.

543. Magazine article, "Copper Regions," Oct., 1846.

544. Magazine article, "A Second Visit to the United States by Sir Charles Lyell," July, 1849.

545. Newspaper piece — Lecture by Rev. Dr. Duryea on "The Mind."

546. Jowett's "Translation of Plato," New York *Tribune,* 31 March, 1871.

547. Newspaper piece on "Ages of Persons in England and Wales."

548. Newspaper piece, on "Old New York Families."

549. Newspaper piece on "Pathology of Consumption."

550. Newspaper piece on "Starvation."

551. "Robert Stuart," New York *Tribune,* 22 Oct., 1853.

552. Newspaper piece, "General Resources of the Plains."

553. Magazine article, "Colds."

554. "Philosophy, Psychology and Metaphysics," *Eclectic Magazine,* April, 1871—reprinted from *North British Review.*

The Growth of "Leaves of Grass"

By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

The Growth of "Leaves of Grass"

I.—A Unique Composition

Leaves of Grass has a marked tectonic quality. The author, like an architect, drew his plans, and the poem, like a cathedral long in building, slowly advanced to fulfilment. Each poem was designed and written with reference to its place in an ideal edifice. The *Inscriptions* form a façade, prophesying the content of the interior. The *Song of Myself* is the main structure, with subsidiary and corroborating poems of sex, comradeship, nationality, and nature. *Drum-Taps* occupies the central position, looking both backward and forward, the unifying dome. The later poems are like altars, burning incense; as through a rosewindow the author looks Eastward to primal thought and realms of Bibles, breathing prayer.

The symbol of a cathedral, however, does not exactly serve in that it is too suggestive of mechanical production. The development of the poem was more organic than the building of a formal structure. The volume is better understood perhaps when

considered as a growth and as related to the author's own life process. Its successive stages have the vital rather than the mechanical connection. Whitman himself always spoke of his poems as "leaves." There was, then, the seed purport of 1855. Succeeding editions have the character of expansive growths, like the rings of a tree, or like a stag's antlers, or like the evolution of one's own being. Each edition has identity with every other edition, the same central heart, yet each is cumulative. The very form is vital, like the fibres of growing things, admitting of substitution, adjustment, or extension. Lines and poems were added, subtracted, or reshaped as the author's own life purpose was fulfilled. I know of no other poem that exhibits such fidelity to the history of a human soul. Langland's *Piers Plowman* has certain features of resemblance, but the experience of the earlier mystic was simple and circumscribed, while Whitman's was composite and universal. In *Leaves of Grass* a human soul (Whitman's ostensibly, the race's in reality) is urged to expression by resistless creative impulses from within. It moves freely also among materials and absorbs and transmutes the shows of outward nature into forms of its own life. By creation from within and by absorption from without it attains identity and individuality, and attaining identity, puts on immortality and universality. It sings therefore the joys

of its individual existence, the songs of one's self, and the joys of its universal relationship, the songs democratic, the songs of sex, brotherhood, and immortality. It disciplines itself by undergoing special experiences in the guise of pain and evil. But with the full knowledge of death it joyfully meets its translation. Of such growths and translations no other book has equal record.

II.—The Foreground

At the appearance of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855 Emerson divined that for such a start the book must have had a long foreground somewhere. Heredity, home training, and the environment of Long Island, constituted a beginning. But the fifteen years in Brooklyn and New York, during which Whitman absorbed the life of the cities with unusual curiosity, formed the special gestation period of the first volume. "Remember," the poet once said, "the book arose out of my life in Brooklyn and New York from 1838 to 1855, absorbing a million people with an intimacy, an eagerness, an abandon, probably never equaled." By such means he was fully prepared, as Carlyle noted, to be the poet of his age.

He had written stories and "sentimental bits" for the press from his youth. These are for the most part commonplace. One long temperance tale, entitled *Franklin Evans,* written in 1841 or 1842, was

thought worthy to fill a complete number of the *New World*. The piece that encouraged Whitman to turn definitely to literature was a prose sketch of considerable power describing a death in a school-room. Published in 1841, it was widely copied in the press, and its success elated the author. In these writings, however, there is no promise of the poet of *Leaves of Grass*. Either Whitman was cherishing his ulterior purpose in secret, meanwhile trying his hand at conventional things, or else there came to him at about the age of thirty some remarkable accession of power which is not easy to describe or explain. It is certain that without any outward change he passed from temporal products to the composition of poems destined to immortality. *Leaves of Grass* probably began to take shape in his mind early in the fifties. He brooded over his plan for a long period. The first definite conception was formed in perhaps 1853 or 1854. It was in 1854 that he hung up in his room the motto, "Make the Work." At that time he was profitably engaged in house building, but he abandoned this occupation for the ideal task. He went strangely about his new business. He became an observer of men and things. His workshop was the street, wharves, ferryboats, the seaside and the fields. Visitors to Long Island would find him lying on his back in the sun, an idle poetsmith —such as Helen Hunt Jackson describes—with whom

Whitman's Nurse, Mary Davis, and Whitman's Dog
From a photograph

"the powers of the air" might be in league. He wrote on scraps of paper and in little note-books in a moody reflective way. He wrote in churches, lecture halls, theaters, the opera, preferring, however, the vantage seat of an omnibus on Broadway. His book must have the merit of being written directly from living impulses and impromptu sights. "The first time I ever wanted to make anything enduring," he once said, "was when I saw a ship under full sail and had the desire to describe it directly as it seemed to me." After many efforts at composition, after three or four complete revisions and rewritings of manuscripts, having some trouble in leaving out the stock literary touches, he began at Brooklyn to put his poetical matter into type with his own hand. *Leaves of Grass* appeared in 1855, a large, thin, rather odd looking volume. As is well known, it was greeted with laughter, condemnation, and anger. Only Emerson, and perhaps Thoreau, understood its purport, though certain reviews, notably one in *Putnam's Magazine,* were disposed to give it favorable mention. The author went out into Long Island during the late summer and fall of this year, reviewed his purpose, confirmed his resolutions, and returned to New York determined to carry out his enterprise in his own way. This period was the happiest time of his life. After awhile Emerson's letter of greeting came — that letter which has ever been referred to

as the sheet-anchor of the faith in Whitman's greatness.

"DEAR SIR:—I am not blind to the worth of the wonderful gift of *Leaves of Grass*. I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. I am very happy in reading it, as great power makes us happy. It meets the demand I am always making of what seems the sterile and stingy Nature, as if too much handiwork or too much lymph in the temperament were making our Western wits fat and mean. I give you joy of your free and brave thought. I have great joy in it. I find incomparable things, said incomparably well, as they must be. I find the courage of treatment which so delights us, and which large perception only can inspire.

"I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere, for such a start. I rubbed my eyes a little, to see if this sunbeam were no illusion; but the solid sense of the book is a sober certainty. It has the best merits — namely, of fortifying and encouraging."

III.—His Purpose

It is perhaps not difficult to follow the reflections of Whitman's mind during the period of his poem's conception. His meditations are recorded in prefaces and other prose notes, in journals and in conversations, in *By Blue Ontario's Shore* and other

poems. Among his journal notes I find many passages declarative of his intentions in writing *Leaves of Grass* — notes that seem to be directions to himself, as if the subconscious mind were dictating what should be done:

"Poet! beware lest your poems are made in the spirit that comes from the study of pictures of things — and not from the spirit that comes from the contact with real things themselves."

"I to-day think it would be best *not at all* to bother with arguments against the foreign models or to help American models — but *just go on supplying American models.*"

"Rules for composition — A perfectly transparent, plate-glassy style, artless, with no ornaments, or attempts at ornaments, for their own sake — they only looking well when like the beauties of the person or character by nature and intuition, and never lugged in to show off, which nullifies the best of them, no matter when and where."

"Take no illustrations whatever from the ancients or classics, nor from the mythology, nor Egypt, Greece, or Rome — nor from the royal and aristocratic institutions and forms of Europe. Make no mention or allusion to them whatever except as they relate to the new, present things — to our country — to American character or interests. Of specific mention of them, even for these purposes, as little as possible."

"A poem which more familiarly addresses those who will in future ages understand me. (Because I write with reference to being far better understood then than I can possibly be now.)"

"Write a new burial service. A book of new things."

"All through writings preserve the equilibrium of the truth that the material world, and all its laws, are as grand and superb as the spiritual world and all its laws."

In conversation he once said:

"The idea in all my poetry is that there is something behind — something behind."

The Preface of 1855, remarkable for its eloquence, vigor and nobility of thought, is one of his most significant utterances respecting the theory of poetry — almost as significant an utterance as the poems themselves. The Preface contains the theory; the poems illustrate what might be done. His theories, fully elaborated, appear again in *Democratic Vistas* in 1871 and in later prose passages and poems.

From these notes and documents it appears that three dominant convictions determined the content of the message of *Leaves of Grass*. The first related to the inherent greatness of men and women, however evil their tendencies, and to the greatness and surpassing virtue of the cosmical order itself, even though monsters and greed and crime issued perpet-

ually in creation. The second had reference to the eligibility of the United States to be the seat of a pure democracy, the abiding place of countless free personalities. The third grew out of his sense of the failure of literature to satisfy the requirements of the modern man in the American lands and days. In an early letter that dates from this period Whitman wrote to a friend:

"I assume that poetry in America needs to be entirely recreated. On examining with anything like deep analysis what now prevails in the United States, the whole mass of poetical works, long and short, consists either of the poetry of an elegantly weak sentimentalism, at bottom nothing but maudlin puerilities, or more or less musical verbiage, arising out of a life of depression and enervation, as their result; or else that class of poetry, plays, etc., of which the foundation is feudalism, with its idea of lords and ladies, its imported standard of gentility, and the manners of European high-life-below-stairs in every line. . . . Instead of mighty and vital breezes, proportionate to our continent with its powerful races of men, its tremendous historic events, its great oceans, its mountains and its illimitable prairies, I find a few little sickly fans languidly moved by shrunken fingers."

With clear vision Whitman saw the need of a literature that would be proportioned to an illimitable

continent and to powerful races of men, that would be grown out of American associations and events, that would be abreast with science, philosophy and social thought, that would itself tend to form the very individuals wanted for an ideal America. To exploit his convictions he felt himself "called." It was a call that must be obeyed — a summons no more to be resisted than that which makes the tides flow and the globe revolve.

IV.—General Features of Development.

1. The plan of singing the Epic of Man, formed boldly in 1855, was audaciously adhered to for the thirty-seven years of Whitman's poetic career. All through his life he faced arguments, opposition, scorn, hatred and abuse, yet, with the single exception of the moment in debate with Emerson on Boston Common, he never faltered in his step but moved steadily forward in perfect good nature, never doubting the ultimate triumph of his point of view. There is a partial failure of his plan to be noted with respect to his later poems, a failure which must be ascribed to his prolonged illness since 1873. The dominant note of his first poems is "Dominion strong is the body's." He had intended in his later writings to dominate with the note "Dominion stronger is the mind's." The clue to his purpose is discovered in the preface of 1876:

"It was originally my intention, after chanting in *Leaves of Grass* the songs of the body and of existence, to then compose a further, equally-needed volume, based on those convictions of perpetuity and conservation which, enveloping all precedents, make the unseen soul govern absolutely at last. I meant, while in a sort continuing the theme of my first chants, to shift the slides and exhibit the problem and paradox of the same ardent and fully appointed personality entering the sphere of the resistless gravitation of spiritual law, and with cheerful face estimating death, not at all as the cessation, but as somehow what I feel it must be, the entrance upon by far the greater part of existence, and something that life is at least as much for, as it is for itself."

On his own confession the second theme was never adequately chanted. Consequently his songs have a more ardent physical stress than he intended. His own physical debility probably prevented the accomplishment of his purpose. He said, too, in later life he regretted that he had not made more of the criminal and showed more sympathy with the outcast. His journal contains themes, trial-lines, and notes for poems never completed: Thus he had planned a group of poems which should celebrate "woman-love" as *Calamus* describes adhesiveness or manly love. Like the epics of Chaucer and Spenser, the Song of Existence remains somewhat fragmentary;

but this represents the condition of his own growth. And it is of course true that he aimed not at a perfected literary product but rather to initiate growth in the minds of his readers. Doubtless, as Charlotte Abbey has remarked, "Whitman's unsung songs will be the songs of his successors—singers yet to come who will sing in his spirit and to ends of which he has been prophetic." One of the last journal notes is a suggestion for "a poem (bequeathing to others a charge) what poems are wanted—including a long list culled from the MS. scraps."

2. The poems of every edition of *Leaves of Grass,* except perhaps the annexes, were written on the open road. The book was incarnated as the author journeyed through cities and States. It was made up in every part of America. Each poem is a jotting down of an experience while fresh in consciousness. The *Song of Myself* embodies the poet's abundant and strenuous life in New York. *Drum-Taps* originated on the field of battle, in camp, and in hospitals. The Lincoln poems were written while Whitman was in immediate contact with the persons and events of that tragic death. The *Song of the Exposition, Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood,* and *Song of the Universal* were composed for special public occasions. The last lingering poems are those of a man conscious of approaching death. The very revisions were made, so far as possible, when in con-

tact with real things. Thus when in 1881 the poet went to Boston to give a final touch to his works, he took the proofs to the woods and made a library desk of a fallen log.

3. The editions of 1855, 1856, and 1860 were the explication of Whitman's theory of a democratic literature. They issued at the high tide of the poet's own vigor and, having as their main object stimulation and expansion, they radiate personal force to a degree wholly unprecedented in literature. The impression given is that of the "eternal bodily composite, cumulative, natural character of one's-self." They contained the poems that pleased Emerson. Hardly a poem is objective or descriptive, but each is an utterance of the self as it comes to realization through its own activity and by contact with the object world. Of these editions the *Song of Myself* is *Leaves of Grass* in epitome. The scientific, philosophic, and religious basis of the whole superstructure was laid in this composition. The later poems relating specifically to sex, comradeship, nationality, religion, and death were formed of the surplusage of this *Song of Myself,*—the "waves eddying behind it." Or they are the elaboration in experience of what is announced intellectually in the first poem. If Whitman had written nothing after 1860 his intention to illustrate the modes of a democratic literature would have been accomplished. The edition

of 1855 contained, beside the preface, twelve poems without distinctive titles. Giving the present titles, they were the following: *Song of Myself, Song for Occupations, To Think of Time, The Sleepers, I Sing the Body Electric, Faces, Song of the Answerer* (sec. 1), *Europe, A Boston Ballad, There was a Child Went Forth, Who Learns My Lesson Complete, Great Are the Myths* (not in the 1881 edition). In 1856 the number was increased to thirty-two. The preface was omitted, but much of its contents went to the making of several poems in the body of the work. Titles were given the poems, no one of which, however, was retained in the final volume. In 1860 the number amounted to one hundred and fifty-seven. The names that were finally chosen begin to appear. The important additions were the *Children of Adam* and the *Calamus* poems. The author's meditative habit of mind is revealed in collections of short sayings or "Debris" which formed the germs of future poems.

The war cluster, entitled *Drum-Taps,* published separately in 1865 and merged with the *Leaves* in 1867, was the result of a special emotional experience and is complete within itself. The theoretical is almost wholly absent. The subject was large, grand, full of strife, and calling for love and sympathy, was one for which Whitman's genius especially fitted him. He is easily the chief singer of the Civil

War. The method of this group is generally lyrical, with the note of grief in mastery. A spiritual rather than a material statement of the war is given, its color more than its fact. However, an occasional impressionistic description presents vividly some characteristic scene of the field or hospital. One poem, remarkable for its intensity, *Rise O Days from Your Fathomless Deeps,* calls for the ever needful return to "primal energies and nature's dauntlessness." But here, too, the sob of the mourner is heard, and the mind is prepared for the final word of reconciliation. To this group the Lincoln poems belong. Singularly the war chants controlled the plan of the book thenceforth. They were placed at the center of the *Leaves,* the keystone of an arch supported by the pillars Life and Death. The earlier chants were rewritten in the light of the knowledge the war afforded. In a line found in an early version of *By Blue Ontario's Shore* is this important announcement: "As a wheel turns on its axle, so I find my chants turning finally on the war." "The entire work," he remarked elsewhere, "is finally to be considered as the first characteristic literary result of the war." The war taught what one's self and union meant. It proved comradeship and democracy. It tested death and immortality. He who sang welcome to death with such strange and solemn effect was for years death's intimate and proved his

songs in his own experience. An important fact to be noted of this group of poems is the spontaneity of utterance and the certainty of the poet's technique. The poems of the first experimental edition underwent continual revision in word and line, but the songs of *Drum-Taps,* wrought in intense emotional excitement, could gain nothing by critical review. They bear the immediate impress of the battle-field.

The edition of 1867 is notable for the incorporation into the *Leaves* of the poems of the war and the rearrangement of the groups with reference to an ideal unity. The poems now number two hundred and thirty-six.

The fifth edition, of 1871, maintains the new classification. The poems have come to have no chronological or other mechanical order, but occur in ideal succession, referring to ensemble. The general titles of this edition exhibit the fusion and the ideal grouping: *Inscriptions* (9), *Children of Adam* (16), *Calamus* (39), *Leaves of Grass* (a title for scattered groups of 3, 2, 8, 4, 6, 3, 1 — 27), *The Answerer* (4), *Drum-Taps* (31), *Marches Now the War is Over* (9), *Bath'd in War's Perfume* (7), *Songs of Insurrection* (6), *Songs of Parting* (8), *Ashes of Soldiers* (5), *President Lincoln's Burial Hymn* (4), *Whispers of Heavenly Death* (13), *Seashore Memories* (7), *Now Finale to the Shore* (10). Some

copies of this edition have also as the closing pieces *Passage to India* and *After All Not to Create Only,* two poems which had been issued separately the same year. In the volumes containing these mystic poems that unity of impression in which "Death and the Unknown are as essential and important to Completed Personality as Life and the Known" is being achieved by the poet. Whitman's victory was nearly gained by 1871. The advance in technique and sureness of touch is marked. He is master of his style. After many experiences there came the "divine power to speak words." By this time also some of the ruder expressions and objectionable phrases relating to his purpose of celebrating sex, introduced at first in too strict adherence to his theory of literature, have been modified or eliminated. The artist is controlling the product. To this edition thirty-six new poems were added, (including the *Passage to India* group and *After All Not to Create Only*), making a total of two hundred and seventy-three.

The edition of 1876 is little more than a collection of previous imprints. It was especially prepared for the centennial year, having for an object the exploitation of the advent of Americanism and Republicanism. The important additions are contained in the second volume, entitled *Two Rivulets,* which was partially set up by Whitman's own hand

in a Camden printing-house. In this the author's purpose to sing more specifically songs of spiritual existence definitely appears. The idea of moral law, the "inner light" of the Quakers, the pure conscience, rises over all and irradiates the whole work. The poems number two hundred and ninety-eight.

The seventh and most important edition occurred in 1881, when James R. Osgood, of Boston, undertook the publication. The opportunity was seized by Whitman to make a complete revision of all that he had written, to determine the final sequence and ensemble of the poems, and to add some new pieces to complete the plan. His own letter to Mr. Osgood contains this statement: "The text will be about the same as hitherto, occasional slight revisions, simplifications in punctuation etc., a more satisfactory consecutive order — some new pieces (20 or 30 pages)." Up to this time *Leaves of Grass* had not really been published at all. The previous editions, Whitman said to Osgood, had been but reconnoisances — printings in proof for zealous friends. The revision extended to every word and line. Corrections were generally made in the interest of clearness. Some personal expressions, slang words, and references to sexuality were omitted. He was aiming at unity and a certain impersonality. An interesting account of this edition is

found in the *Boston Globe,* August 24th, 1881, in Whitman's own words:

"It is now, I believe, twenty-six years since I began to work upon the structure; and this edition will complete the design which I had in mind when I began to write. The whole affair is like one of those old architectural edifices, some of which were hundreds of years in building, and the designer of which had the whole idea in mind from the first. His plans are pretty ambitious, and as means or time permits, he adds part after part, perhaps at quite wide intervals. To a casual observer it looks in the course of its construction odd enough. Only after the whole is completed one catches the idea which inspired the designer, in whose mind the relation of each part to the whole had existed all along. That is the way it has been with my book. It has been twenty-six years building. There have been seven different hitches at it. Seven different times have parts of the edifice been constructed—sometimes in Brooklyn, sometimes in Washington, sometimes in Boston, and at other places. The book has been built partially in every part of the United States. And this edition is the completed edifice."

The edition completed a total of three hundred and eighteen poems.

A study of the classification and rearrangement

of the poems through the seven editions discloses the unitary ideas that determined the final grouping. The book as a whole is the bible of democracy — the term is Whitman's own. The content of democracy is two-fold — the idea of the one and the idea of the many. Its problem is to develop supreme individuals on the one hand and on the other to bind these separate sovereign selves into a social union. Socialization, however, follows upon individualization. Make great men, their unification is assured. *Leaves of Grass* has for its chief aim the stimulation of personality. The purpose of the first poems is to arouse, dilate, expand and greaten the reader. Consequently they radiate personal energy — they are proud, strenuous, joyful, optimistic. The function of the second group of poems is to provide for union. They show the identification of each with all, with Nature, and with God. The first stage of union is in sex — union in the natural. A higher, more spiritual identity is found in comradeship or union in the spiritual human. Other forms of union appear in the songs of occupations and in the chants of nature. The war was a war for union; the *Drum-Taps* inculcate, therefore, identity in nationality. The songs of death and parting declare the fusion of soul and body in a cosmic order. As Pride was the keyword of the first group, Love becomes the sign of the second series.

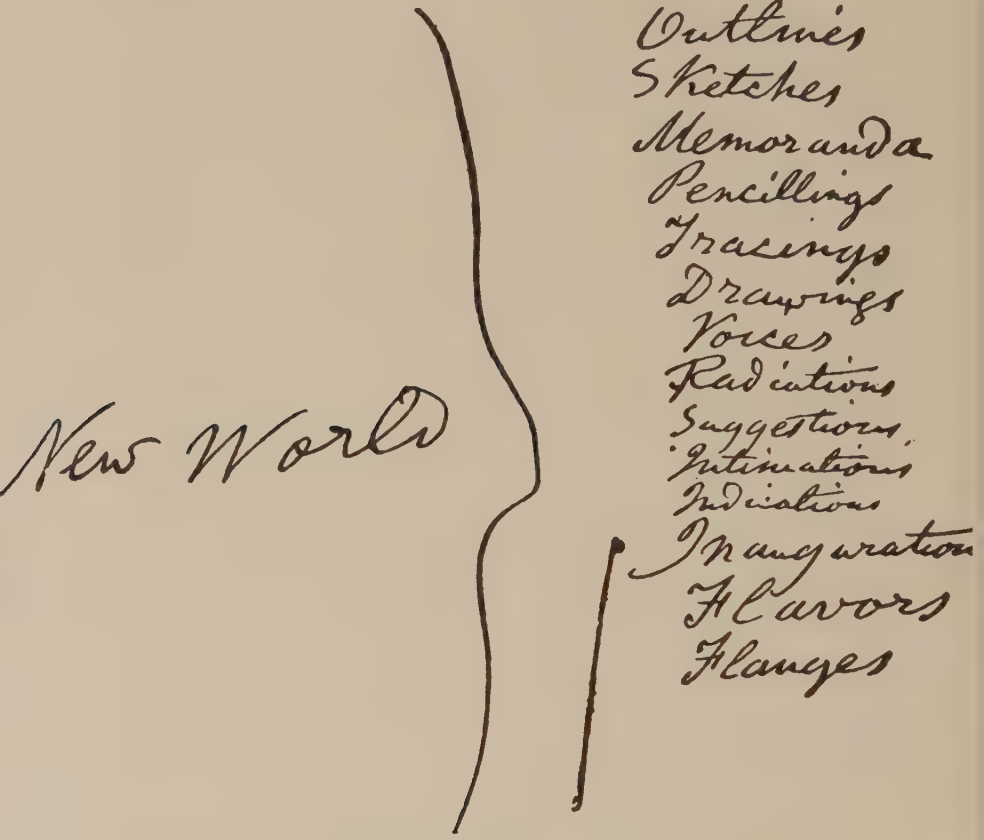
To sing the Great Idea, the transcendental Union — that, thought Whitman, must be the mission of poets. He himself was an absolute monist.

The poems of the annexes are like the eddies behind a great ship. They number one hundred and six, bringing the total composition to four hundred and twenty-four. Some of them display astonishing genius and power; others evidence only the play of old agents, creatures of use and wont; others manifest the physical weakness of an old man. There is an Indian summer pause about them, a holding of the breath. The old poet seems to be passing over into the unknown region. Just on the borderland he turns, raises high the hand in sign that men are to remain in sight of him forever, and shouts the final farewell. The vision grows dim, the voice ceases, the book quietly closes. The translation has been so peaceful that the reader waits for a renewal of the song. We cry confidently, as the soldiers used to do in the hospitals — "Come again, Walt."

V.—Method of Composition

As Whitman was a practical printer, he was very careful as to punctuation, spelling, and arrangement of type. I do not remember to have found a single typographical error in any of the editions. In punctuation he aimed at simplicity. After 1855 he dropped

wherever possible the connectives "and" and "or." In 1867 past participle endings were written as



(A STUDY FOR A TITLE)

"'d." After 1860 he indicated the days and months in the Quaker manner: "First-day," "Twelfth-month," etc. His titles were selected with the greatest care. The poems of 1855 were published

without distinctive titles. For the names employed in 1856 and for many of those of 1860 new ones were substituted in later editions. An instance of his care in devising names is furnished by an outline study for a title (see page 122) written down apparently when he was considering the publication of *Specimen Days.*

Upon another scrap of paper he had written "Moments and Days. Moments and Days of a Life in the 19th Century in the New World. Minutes and Days {from / of} a Life in the 19th Century in the New World. ? Out of My Life." Upon another scrap: "Far and Near at 59. From a Life in the 19th Century in the New World. A Life-Mosaic. Native Moments. Flanges of a Life in the 19th Century in the New World." Probably every title suggested was scrutinized with the utmost patience. In 1867 many of the ruder expressions and references to sexuality were omitted to satisfy "good taste." Changes in word arrangement were frequently made to perfect a rhythm. The first line of the initial Sea-Drift poem "Out of the rock'd cradle" was improved to "Out of the cradle endlessly rocking." Occasionally a change was made in the interest of fact. In the edition of 1855 and 1856 a line referring to the whale read: "Where the she whale swims with her calves." In 1860 this appears as "Where the she whale swims with her calf." Late in the

year 1856 he had talked with an old whaleman, and one finds in his note-book this record of the conversation: "The cow has but one calf at a birth. She will sometimes when alarmed enclose it as with her fins and dive down into the deep sea—(just like a mother protects her child)".

His journals give evidence in particular of the patient study accorded to words and phrases. In the line "By the bivouac's fitful flame," he wrote "fires" at the first trial, then "light," and finally "flame." For certain phrases in *As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life,* he sketched the following outline: "Sea windrows. Ocean windrows. Beach. Beach Windrows. Windrows with sand and sea-hay. Windrows sand and scales and beach hay. Sands and drifts. Windrows and beach hay. Underfoot. Walking the Beach. Drift underfoot. Underfoot Drift. Wash. Drift at your feet." Other notes reveal the origin of given lines and poems. In *A Song for Occupations* there are two lines which relate to iron manufacture:

"Iron-works, forge-fires in the mountains or by river-banks, men around feeling the melt with huge crowbars, lumps of ore, the due combining of ore, limestone, coal,

The blast-furnace and the puddling-furnace, the loup-lump at the bottom of the melt at last, the rolling-mill, the stumpy bars of pig-iron, the strong clean-shaped T-rail for railroads."

The note that tells the story of his preliminary investigations for the facts of these lines reads thus: "Iron Works. There is a forge in the Adirondack Mountains — the 'Adirondack forge' — To get to it you land at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and go back forty miles. A forge would be a large rude building with from one to a dozen or more charcoal fires — on which the ore is thrown, and melted — the iron runs down and settles at the bottom, like a bushel-basket shaped lump — a 'loup' or 'loop,' as they call it. The men are around these fires with huge crowbars — they have to tell the state of the melting by the 'feel' of the ore and iron with these crowbars. The forge-fires in the mountains and the men around, feeling the melt with huge crowbars." The last sentence is apparently a trial line embodying the main facts of the note. The germ idea of *Night on the Prairies* is found in this jotting: "Idea of a Poem. Day and Night. Namely, celebrate the beauty of Day with all its splendor, the sun — life — action — love — strength. Then Night with its beauty (rather leaning to the celebration of the superiority of the Night)." One of the best examples of Whitman's method of work is furnished by *The Song of the Broad-Axe.* The poem was first published in 1856. Among the papers left at his death is a sheet of foolscap with notes for this poem written in pencil late in the year 1855:

"BROADAXE — First as coming in the rough ore out of the earth — Then as being smelted and made into usable shape for working,— then into some of the earlier weapons of the axe kind — battleaxe — headsman's axe — carpenter's broadaxe — (process of making, tempering and finishing the axe,) inquire fully.

USES OF THE BROADAXE

In cutting away masts when the ship is on her beam-ends.

In hewing the great timbers for the old fashioned houses and barns.

Passage describing the putting up of a good styled log cabin in the western woods—the whole process— joining the logs — the company — the fun — the axe.

The sylvan woodman or woodboy.

The cutting down of an unusually large and majestic tree — live oak or other — for some kelson to a frigate or first-class steamship. — (what wood is the kelson generally?)

Procession of portraits of the different users of the axe — the raftsman, the lumberman, the antique warrior, the headsman, the butcher, the framer of houses, the squatter of the west — the pioneer.

Founding of cities. Make it the American emblem preferent to the eagle.

In ship building. In cutting a passage through the ice.

The butcher in his slaughter house.

FULL PICTURE. The antique warrior always with his great axe — the brawny swinging arm — the clatter and crash on the helmeted head — the death howl and the quick tumbling body and rush of friend and foe thither — the summons to surrender — the battering of castle-gates and city-gates.

Building wharves and piers.

Picture full of the pioneer.

The Roman lictors preceding the consuls.

The sacrificial priest, Grecian, Roman and Jewish.

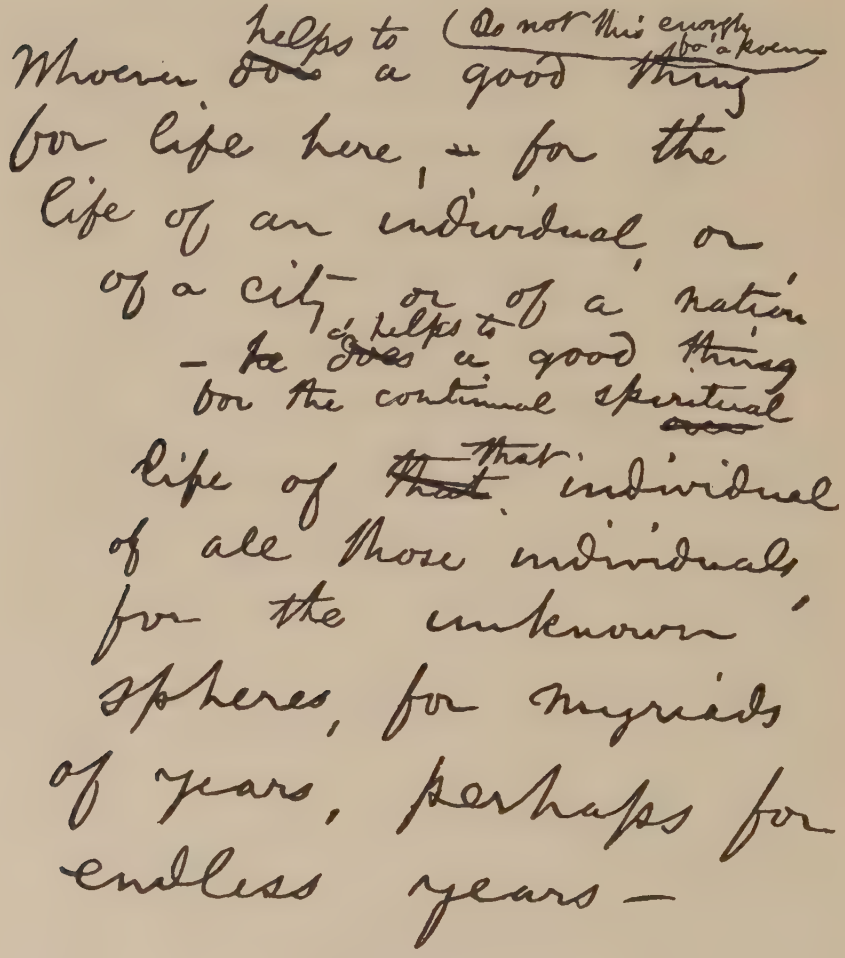
What in Scandinavia?

All through the framing of a house — all through — the hewing of timbers — the knocking of beams in their places — laying them regular. The framers wielding the axe — their attitudes standing, bending — astride the beams driving in pins — as the frame is being raised — they on the posts or braces — holding on — their limbs — the [one arm] hooked around the plate, the other arm wielding the axe.

Episodic in the cutting down of the tree — about what the wood is for — for a saloon, for a ceiling, or floor, for a coffin, for a workbox, a sailor's chest, a musical instrument, for firewood — for rich casings or frames.

In a terrible fire the use of the axe to cut down connecting woodwork to stop the fire — the excite-

ment — the firemen — the glare — the hoarse shouts — the flames — the red faces and dense shadows."


helps to (Do not this enough to be a poem
Whoever ~~does~~ a good thing
for life here, — for the
life of an individual, or
of a city — or of a nation
— helps to ~~he does~~ a good thing
for the continual spiritual
life of ~~that~~ that individual
of all those individuals
for the unknown
spheres, for myriads
of years, perhaps for
endless years —

(A MANUSCRIPT SCRAP)

Here it is evident, as Dr. Bucke has pointed out, the idea of the poem came to him as a whole and in-

stantaneously. He took the piece of paper and jotted down an outline which would serve to call up the image again to his mind. By the aid of the memorandum of the initial inspiration he wrote later the poem as he first conceived it. Words and phrases, the names of things and processes, had to be thought out and hunted up. In the outline he indicates also certain matters that he must investigate. His papers show that this was his usual method of composition. He made his notes on scraps of paper, old envelopes, and in rudely constructed note-books. In composing he worked slowly and with much reflection and brooding. Many of the manuscripts of the first poems are mazes of pencilled corrections. After writing, the poem was commonly printed on proof-sheets at a private press and put away for revision.

OLD AGE'S SHIP & CRAFTY DEATH'S.

From east and west across the horizon's edge,
Two mighty masterful vessels sailers steal upon us:
But we'll make race a-time upon the seas — a battle-contest
yet! bear lively there!
(Our joys of strife and derring-do to the last!)
Put on the old ship all her power to-day!
Crowd top-gallant and royal studding-sails!
Out challenge and defiance — flags and flaunting pennants
added,
As we take to the open — take to the deepest, freest waters

WALT WHITMAN.

(A CAMDEN "PROOF")

Even after incorporation in the general volume the poem suffered constant handling and reshaping, as the Variorum Readings prepared for this edition attest. As an example of simple improvement the original pencilled draft of *Grand is the Seen,* dated November 14th, 1890, may be compared with the poem as printed in *Good-Bye My Fancy:*

I

"Grand is the seen, the light — grand are the sky and stars,
Grand is the earth, and grand are time and space,
And grand their laws, so multiform, so evolutionary, puzzling, lasting;
Then grander is one's unseen soul, endowing, comprehending those —
Lighting the light, the sky and stars, sailing the sea, delving the earth,
More multiform — more puzzling than they,
More evolutionary vast and lasting."

II

"Grand is the seen, the light, to me — grand are the sky and stars,
Grand is the earth, and grand are lasting time and space,
And grand their laws, so multiform, puzzling, evolutionary;
But grander far the unseen soul of me, comprehending, endowing all those,
Lighting the light, the sky and stars, delving the earth, sailing the sea,

(What were all these, indeed, without thee, unseen soul? of what amount without thee?)
More evolutionary, vast, puzzling, O my soul!
More multiform far — more lasting than they."

Here the changes are slight but telling.

A more elaborate series of changes was necessary for the perfecting of the prefatory poem beginning "Come, said my Soul," first published in 1876. Seven copies of this poem have been transcribed and compared by William Sloane Kennedy and printed in the *Conservator* for June, 1896. The first piece is the original rough draft containing the germ idea, the others are the studies arranged in the order of their production:

1

"Come, said the Soul,
Such verses of the Body having written [here?]
That should we [I] after death invisibly return
We first here and now and first and last and all and each
Endorsing to the utmost
Endorsing all and each and to the last, as first here I now
Signing for Soul and Body, write my name."

(The portions in brackets are Whitman's, and are written as alternatives or additions, over the line.)

2 (dated March 25, '75)

"Go, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body write, (for we are one,)
Such chants of it, the seed perennial scattering,

That should I, after death, invisibly return,
Or years, or ages, ages hence in other spheres,
Or to some group of mates these songs resuming,
Ever with pleas'd smile I may recall them,
Ever with sun and soil and rain they sing."

3

"Go, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body write, (for we are one,)
Such chants of both in seed perennial scattering,
That should I after death invisibly return,
Or long, long hence in other spheres,
Or to some group of mates these songs resuming,
Ever, with pleas'd smile, I may recall them,
Ever in sun and soil and rain they 'll sing."

(At the foot of this piece are four separate studies for line 3.)

4 (Endorsed: "Approved Sep. 15, '75").

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write, (for we are one,)
Such chants of both sign'd by my Name, in seed perennial scattering,
That should I after death invisibly return,
Or to some group of mates the lines resuming,
Ever, with pleased smile, I may repeat them — ever with murmuring rain,
Ever with tallying earth, air, daylight, sing,
As sign for Soul and Body, write our name."

(Erasure at beginning of line 5: "I 'll find them growing, fruiting." Line 3 first read: "sign'd by the Name, for both.")

5

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for the Body let us sing, (for we are finally One,)
That should I after Death invisibly return,
Or long, long hence, in other spheres,
Or to some group of mates the chants resuming,
Ever with pleased smile I may repeat them,
(Tallying Earth's soil, waves, trees, winds, murmuring rain,)
Avowing to the last — as, first, I here and now,
Signing for Soul and Body, write my name,
[A scrawled] *W. W.*"

("Subtly" before "finally" of line two is erased, and for line seven this pencil study appears at foot of the paper: "Tallying the earth and trees, the winds, the murmuring rain.")

6

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write, (for we are one,)
That should I after death invisibly return,
(Or long, long hence, in other spheres,
There to some group of mates the chants resuming,
Tallying Earth's soil, winds, waves, trees, murmuring rains,)
Ever with pleased smile I may repeat them,
Ever the songs continuing, owning—As, first, I here and now,
Signing for Soul and Body, set my name,
[A scrawled] *W. W.*"

(Erasure in line 2, before "one" of "subtly, finally." With three or four slight changes, which are helps to the melody and swing of the verse, this number 6 is identical with the final printed form.")

7

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write, (for we are one,)

That should I after death invisibly return,
Or, long, long hence, in other spheres,
There to some group of mates the chants resuming,
(Tallying Earth's soil, trees, winds, tumultuous waves,)
Ever with pleas'd smile I may keep on,
Ever and ever yet the verses owning — as, first, I here and now,
Signing for Soul and Body, set to them my name,
[Autograph signature] Walt Whitman."

From these evidences it would appear that the composition of lines and poems may be best described and understood as "growth" — vital growth rather than mechanical or merely critical construction.

As the Greek's signal flame.

(For Whittier's 80th birth-day, December 17, 1887.)

As the Greek's signal flame, by antique records told,
(Tally of many a hard-strain'd battle, struggle, year — ~~accepted and~~ triumphant only at the last.)
~~Welcom'd some special~~
Rose from the hill-top ~~for~~ like ~~in~~ applause ~~low~~ and glory
Welcoming in fame some special veteran ~~patriot~~ patriot, hero, ~~home~~
With rosy tinge reddening the land he'd served.
So I aloft from Mannahatta's ship-fringed shore
Lift high a kindled brand for thee, Old Poët,

Walt Whitman

Bibliography of Walt Whitman

Compiled by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

A. The Writings of Walt Whitman

Bibliography of Walt Whitman

Compiled by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

A. THE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN

1855

The first edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1855. A thin quarto or royal octavo, pp. i–xii, 13–95. Bound in leather ornamented with flowers, the title LEAVES OF GRASS in gilt across the face. Title-page: LEAVES / OF / GRASS / Brooklyn, New York/1855. Copyright given in 1855 to Walter Whitman. Frontispiece, facing title-page: a steel engraving from photograph of author at age of 36. No name of author is given except in the copyright certificate and in a line in the body of the work on page 29: "Walt Whitman, an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos." Eight hundred copies printed.

The volume contains a prose preface and twelve poems without titles. Using the titles given in 1856 and their present names these are:

1. Preface.

2. Poem of Walt Whitman, an American (Song of Myself).

3. Poem of the Daily Work of the Workmen and Workwomen of These States (A Song for Occupations).

4. Burial Poem (To Think of Time).

5. Night Poem (The Sleepers).

6. Poem of the Body (I Sing the Body Electric).

7. Poem of Faces (Faces).

8. Poem of the Poet (Song of the Answerer, § 1).

9. Poem of the Dead Young Men of Europe. The 72d and 73d Years of These States (Europe).

10. Poem of Apparitions in Boston, the 78th Year of These States (A Boston Ballad).

11. Poem of the Child That Went Forth, and Always Goes Forth, Forever and Forever (There was a Child Went Forth).

12. Lesson Poem (Who Learns My Lesson Complete).

13. Poem of a Few Greatnesses (called later Great Are the Myths).

Notes: The large page of this volume, giving scope to the long lines, and the large clear type, make this a very attractive edition. It is valued very highly by collectors.

The prose preface is in content but another poem, and in later editions it was broken up to

Whitman's House, Mickle Street,
Camden, N. J.
From a photograph by J. H. Johnston, M. D., Bolton, England

furnish material for *By Blue Ontario's Shore* (sec. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), *To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire,* and *Song of Prudence,* the rest being reprinted in *Specimen Days* and *Collect* (1881) as the preface of the 1855 edition. W. M. Rossetti republished this preface nearly entire in his edition of *Selections* in 1868. It was published separately in 1881 by Trubner & Co., London. A translation in French was published in *Le Magazine International,* No. 5, 1896. An exact reprint of the original preface was made for the volume of *Selections* published by Small, Maynard & Co. in 1898.

Great Are the Myths does not appear in the later editions.

All of the poems of this edition underwent continual revision till 1881.

A peculiarity of this edition is the punctuation, dashes and dots being used freely to indicate pauses.

1856

The second edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1856. Sixteen mo., pp., i–iv, 5–385. Bound with cloth. On back in gilt the title: LEAVES OF GRASS, the name Walt Whitman, and a quotation from Emerson's letter, "I greet You at the Beginning of A Great Career" — signed, "R. W. Emerson." Figures of leaves adorn the cover. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS,

Brooklyn, New York/1856. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1856. Frontispiece, the steel engraving from the first edition. An index of titles is given and the poems are numbered. There are twenty new poems. An Appendix, called "Leaves-Droppings," contains (a) A letter from Emerson to Whitman, July 21, 1855. (b) A letter from Whitman to Emerson, August, 1856. (c) Opinions from the American and English press. (d) Advertisement. The new poems have the following titles:

14. Poem of Women (Unfolded Out of the Folds).

15. Poem of Salutation (Salut au Monde).

16. Broad-Axe Poem (Song of the Broad-Axe).

17. Poem of Many in One (By Blue Ontario's Shore).

18. Poem of Wonder at the Resurrection of the Wheat (This Compost).

19. Poem of You, Whoever You Are (To You, vol. I, page 284).

20. Sun-Down Poem (Crossing Brooklyn Ferry).

21. Poem of the Road (Song of the Open Road).

22. Poem of Procreation (A Woman Waits for Me).

23. Clef Poem (On the Beach at Night Alone).

24. Poem of the Heart of the Son of Manhattan Island (Excelsior).

25. Poem of the Last Explanation of Prudence (Song of Prudence).

26. Poem of the Singers, and of the Words of Poems (Song of the Answerer, § 2).

27. Faith Poem (Assurances).

28. Liberty Poem for Asia, Africa, Europe, America, Australia, Cuba, and the Archipelagoes of the Sea (To a Foiled European Revolutionaire).

29. Poem of Remembrances for a Girl or a Boy of These States (not in last editions).

30. Poem of Perfect Miracles (Miracles).

31. Bunch Poem (Spontaneous Me).

32. Poem of the Propositions of Nakedness (Respondez, not in last editions).

33. Poem of the Sayers of the Words of the Earth (Song of the Rolling Earth).

Notes: The size of the publication is reduced from the large octavo to a sixteen mo. The printing and punctuation are conventional.

The foundation of future editions is firmly laid in this volume. The purpose of the author is fixed, the added poems coming as a sort of challenge to adverse criticism. The poems of 1855 have undergone revision, but the alteration consists chiefly in the omission of connectives, such as "and," "or," etc.

The preface of 1855 is omitted, but much of its contents, in some lines the very words and sentences,

appears in *Poem of Many in One, Poem of the Last Explanation of Prudence* and *Liberty Poem.*

This edition is distinguished by the addition to the separate poems of titles, no one of which, however, was retained for the final edition.

This volume was published by Fowler & Wells, N. Y., though their names do not appear on the title-page. On account of criticism this firm abandoned the sale. But few copies were sold.

1860–'61

Third edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1860–'61. A twelve mo., pp. i–iv, 5–456. Bound in imitation leather. LEAVES OF GRASS stamped on face and back (in gilt), the name Walt Whitman, and various emblems—a sunrise at sea, a globe in space, and a butterfly poised upon a hand. Title-page: LEAVES/ OF/GRASS/Boston/Thayer and Eldridge/Year 85 of The States/1860–'61. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1860. Frontispiece, a steel engraving of Whitman at the age of forty, reproduced from a painting by Charles Hine in 1859. The emblems mentioned above occur throughout the book. There are 124 new poems in addition to those already named:

34. Proto-Leaf (Starting from Paumanok).

35. Chants Democratic: Apostroph (not in later editions).

36. Chants Democratic, no. 4 (Our Old Feuillage).

37. Chants Democratic, no. 7 (With Antecedents).
38. " " " 8 (Song at Sunset).
39. " " " 9 (Thoughts, sec. 1, Vol. II, page 275).
40. Chants Democratic, no. 10 (To a Historian).
41. " " " 11 (Thoughts, sec. 2, Vol. II, page 275).
42. Chants Democratic, no. 12 (Vocalism, sec. 1).
43. " " " 13 (Laws for Creation).
44. " " " 14 (Poets to Come).
45. " " " 16 (Mediums).
46. " " " 17 (On Journeys through The States).
47. Chants Democratic, no. 18 (Me Imperturbe).
48. " " " 19 (I was Looking a Long While).
49. Chants Democratic, no. 20 (I Hear America Singing).
50. Chants Democratic, no. 21 (As I Walk These Broad Majestic Days).
51. Leaves of Grass, no. 1 (As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life).
52. Leaves of Grass, no. 10 (Myself and Mine).
53. " " " 13 (You Felons on Trial in Courts).
54. Leaves of Grass, no. 15 (Night on the Prairies).
55. " " " 16 (The World Below the Brine).

56. Leaves of Grass, no. 17 (I Sit and Look Out).
57. " " " 18 (All is Truth).
58. " " " 19 (Germs).
59. " " " 20 ("So far and so far"—not in later editions).
60. Leaves of Grass, no. 21 (Vocalism, sec. 2).
61. " " " 22 (What am I After All).
62. Leaves of Grass, no. 23 (Locations and Times).
63. " " " 24 ("Now lift me close"—not in last editions).
64. Poem of Joys (A Song of Joys).
65. A Word Out of the Sea (Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking).
66. Thought (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 262).
67. Enfans d'Adam, no. 1 (To the Garden the World).
68. Enfans d'Adam, no. 2 (From Pent-up Aching Rivers).
69. Enfans d'Adam, no. 6 (One Hour to Madness and Joy).
70. Enfans d'Adam, no. 7 (We Two, How Long We were Fool'd).
71. Enfans d'Adam, no. 8 (Native Moments).
72. " " " 9 (Once I Pass'd through a Populous City).
73. Enfans d'Adam, no. 10 (Facing West from California's Shores).

74. Enfans d'Adam, no. 11 ("In the new garden" —not in last editions).

75. Enfans d'Adam, no. 12 (Ages and Ages Returning at Intervals).

76. Enfans d'Adam, no. 13 (O Hymen—O Hymene).

77. Enfans d'Adam, no. 14 (I am He that Aches with Love).

78. Enfans d'Adam, no. 15 (As Adam Early in the Morning).

79. Calamus, no. 1 (In Paths Untrodden).

80. " " 2 (Scented Herbage of My Breast).

81. Calamus, no. 3 (Whoever You are).

82. " " 4 (These I Singing in Spring).

83. " " 5 (You, O Democracy).

84. " " 6 (Not Heaving from my Ribb'd Breast Only).

85. Calamus, no. 7 (The Terrible Doubt of Appearances).

86. Calamus, no. 8 ("Long I thought that knowledge alone would suffice me"—not in last editions).

87. Calamus, no. 9 ("Hours continuing long sore and heavy hearted"—not in last editions).

88. Calamus, no. 10 (Recorders Ages Hence).

89. " " 11 (When I Heard at the Close of the Day).

90. Calamus, no. 12 (Are You the New Person Drawn toward Me).

91. Calamus, no. 13 (Roots and Leaves Themselves Alone).

92. Calamus, no. 14 (Not Heat Flames Up).

93. " " 15 (Trickle Drops).

94. " " 16 ("Who is now reading this" —not in last editions).

95. Calamus, no. 17 (Of Him I Love Day and Night).

96. Calamus, no. 18 (City of Orgies).

97. " " 19 (Behold this Swarthy Face).

98. " " 20 (I Saw in Louisiana).

99. " " 21 (That Music Always Round Me).

100. Calamus, no. 22 (To a Stranger).

101. " " 23 (This Moment Yearning and Thoughtful).

102. Calamus, no. 24 (I Hear It was Charged against Me).

103. Calamus, no. 25 (The Prairie Grass Dividing).

104. Calamus no. 26 (We Two Boys together Clinging).

105. Calamus, no. 27 (O Living Always, Always Dying).

106. Calamus, no. 28 (When I Peruse the Conquer'd Fame).

107. Calamus, no. 29 (A Glimpse).
108. " " 30 (A Promise to California).
109. " " 31 (What Place is Besieged? and What Ship Puzzled at Sea?).
110. Calamus, no. 32 (What Think You I Take My Pen in Hand).
111. Calamus, no. 33 (No Labor-Saving Machine).
112. " " 34 (I Dream'd in a Dream).
113. " " 35 (To the East and to the West).
114. Calamus, no. 36 (Earth My Likeness).
115. " " 37 (A Leaf for Hand in Hand).
116. " " 38 (Fast-Anchor'd Eternal O Love).
117. Calamus, no. 39 (Sometimes with One I Love).
118. Calamus, no. 40 (That Shadow My Likeness).
119. " " 41 (Among the Multitude).
120. " " 42 (To a Western Boy).
121. " " 43 (O You whom I Often and Silently Come).
122. Calamus, no. 44 (Here the Frailest Leaves of Me).
123. Calamus, no. 45 (Full of Life now).
124. Longings for Home (O Magnet-South).
125. To Him That was Crucified.
126. To One Shortly to Die.
127. To a Common Prostitute.

128. To Rich Givers.
129. To a Pupil.
130. To The States.
131. To a Cantatrice (To a Certain Cantatrice).
132. Walt Whitman's Caution (To The States).
133. To a President.
134. To Other Lands (To Foreign Lands).
135. To Old Age.
136. To You — not in last editions.
137. To You.
138. Mannahatta.
139. France.
140. Thoughts, no. 1 ("Of the visages of things" — not in last editions).
141. Thoughts, no. 2 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 32).
142. " " 3 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 162).
143. " " 4 (Thoughts, Vol. II, pages 38, 37).
144. Thoughts, no. 5 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 232).
145. " " 6 ("Of what I write for myself" — not in last editions).
146. Thoughts, no. 7 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 37).
147. Unnamed Lands.
148. Kosmos.
149. A Hand Mirror.
150. Beginners.
151. Tests.
152. Savantism.

153. Perfections.

154. Says (eight in number, used in various ways in last editions).

155. Debris (consisting of 16 thoughts, used in various ways in last editions).

156. To My Soul (As Nearing Departure and As the Time Draws Nigh).

157. So Long.

Notes: The old poems are revised and rewritten, the changes in this edition being often fundamental. One of the peculiar changes is in the names of days and months, the Quaker usage being adopted for the pagan: thus the Fourth of July reads the Fourth of Seventh Month.

New titles for poems appear, some of which become permanent. *Chants Democratic, Leaves of Grass* and *Messenger Leaves* are employed as group titles. The important additions are *Enfans d'Adam* (Children of Adam) and *Calamus.* Series of short sayings called Thoughts, Says and Debris are contained.

There is an appearance of orderliness and completeness about the volume, the first poem being called *Proto-Leaf* and the last *So Long* (the workman's call at departure).

This was a really handsome edition. Thayer & Eldridge failed at the opening of the war and the book was again out of print. The plates and

cover dies came into the hands of R. Worthington, N. Y., who surreptitiously used them. The Thayer & Eldridge publication may be detected by the words on the back of the title-page: "Electrotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry. Printed by George C. Rand & Avery." After the poet's death the plates and copies were purchased by the estate.

1865

Drum-Taps and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (including the Lincoln poems), 1865. In pamphlet form, pp. i–iv, 5–72; 1–24. Title-pages: WALT WHITMAN'S / DRUM-TAPS/NEW YORK/ 1865/ / SEQUEL TO DRUM-TAPS/ (since the preceding came from the press)/WHEN LILACS LAST IN THE /DOOR YARD BLOOM'D/AND OTHER PIECES/ Washington/1865–6.

Drum-Taps

158. Drum-Taps.
159. Shut not Your Doors to Me Proud Libraries.
160. Cavalry Crossing a Ford.
161. Song of the Banner at Day-Break.
162. By the Bivouac's Fitful Flame.
163. 1861.
164. From Paumanok Starting I Fly like a Bird.
165. Beginning My Studies.
166. The Centenarian's Story.
167. Pioneers! O Pioneers!

168. Quicksand Years that Whirl Me I Know not Whither.
169. The Dresser.
170. When I Heard the Learn'd Astronomer.
171. Rise O Days from Your Fathomless Deeps.
172. A Child's Amaze.
173. Beat! Beat! Drums!
174. Come Up from the Fields Father.
175. City of Ships.
176. Mother and Babe.
177. Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night.
178. Bathed in War's Perfume.
179. A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown.
180. Long, Too Long, O Land.
181. A Sight in Camp in the Day-Break Grey and Dim.
182. A Farm Picture.
183. Give Me the Splendid Silent Sun.
184. Over the Carnage Rose Prophetic a Voice.
185. Did You Ask Dulcet Rhymes from Me?
186. Year of Meteors.
187. The Torch.
188. Year of the Unperform'd.
189. Year that Trembled and Reel'd Beneath Me.
190. The Veteran's Vision.
191. O Tan-Faced Prairie-Boy.
192. Camps of Green.

193. As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods.
194. Hymn of Dead Soldiers.
195. The Ship.
196. A Broadway Pageant.
197. Flag of Stars, Thick-Sprinkled Bunting.
198. Old Ireland.
199. Look Down Fair Moon.
200. Out of the Rolling Ocean the Crowd.
201. World Take Good Notice.
202. I Saw Old General at Bay.
203. Others may Praise What They Like.
204. Solid, Ironical, Rolling Orb.
205. Hush'd be the Camps To-day.
206. Weave in, Weave in, My Hardy Soul.
207. Turn, O Libertad.
208. Bivouac on a Mountain Side.
209. Pensive on Her Dead Gazing, I Heard the Mother of All.
210. Not Youth Pertains to Me.

Sequel to Drum-Taps

211. When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd.
212. Race of Veterans.
213. O Captain! My Captain!
214. Spirit whose Work is Done.
215. Chanting the Square Deific.
216. I Heard You, Solemn-Sweet Pipes of the Organ.

217. Not My Enemies Ever Invade Me.

218. O Me! O Life!

219. Ah Poverties, Wincings, and Sulky Retreats.

220. As I Lay with My Head in Your Lap, Camerado.

221. This Day, O Soul.

222. In Clouds Descending, in Midnight Sleep.

223. An Army on the March.

224. Dirge for Two Veterans.

225. How Solemn as One by One.

226. Lo! Victress on the Peaks.

227. Reconciliation.

228. To the Leaven'd Soil They Trod.

Notes: These two series formed the first and second annexes of the fourth edition (1867) of *Leaves of Grass*. In 1871 the poems were incorporated in the body of the work, the greater number appearing under the title *Drum-Taps,* the rest being distributed under other general titles according to subject. The poems of *Drum-Taps* were written at the time of the war, under great emotional stress, and were not subsequently revised to any considerable extent.

1867

Fourth edition of *Leaves of Grass* with three annexes, 1867. Twelve mo., pp.i–iv, 5–338; i–iv, 5–72; 1–24; 1–36 = 470. Bound in cloth and leather. On back in gilt LEAVES OF GRASS / Ed'n 1867.

Title-pages: LEAVES / OF/GRASS / NEW YORK / 1867 / / WALT WHITMAN'S / DRUM-TAPS / NEW YORK / 1865/ /SEQUEL TO DRUM-TAPS / (since the preceding came from the press)/WHEN LILACS LAST IN THE / DOOR YARD BLOOM'D / AND OTHER PIECES / Washington / 1865–6// SONGS/ BEFORE PARTING. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1866. There is no portrait.

The new poems, exclusive of *Drum-Taps* and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (which form annexes to this edition) number eight.

(158–228. Drum-Taps etc.)

229. Inscription (One's-Self I Sing).

230. The Runner.

231. Tears! Tears! Tears!

232. Aboard at a Ship's Helm.

233. When I Read the Book.

234. The City Dead-House.

235. Leaflets (What General).

236. Not the Pilot.

Notes: This edition groups the poems in a new arrangement, the order tending toward the one eventually settled upon. The titles are becoming permanent.

A complete revision has again taken place, many lines and passages being dropped. Certain rough terms and many references to sexuality disappear. Lines relating to the war are inserted in various

poems. One of the minor changes is the writing of the past participle as 'd.

The paragraphs and sections are numbered.

1870–'71

Democratic Vistas, 1871. Pamphlet form, pp. 1–84. Title-page: Memoranda / DEMOCRATIC / VISTAS/Washington, D.C./1871. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1870.

Notes: *Democratic Vistas* appears in the Complete Works substantially as here. In the last edition what is now the first paragraph was added, together with a few foot-notes.

1871

Passage to India, 1871. Pamphlet form, pp. 1–120. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1870. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS/PASSAGE/TO/INDIA/ Washington, D.C./1871; with verses entitled, in 1892 edition, *Gliding O'er All.*

Seventy-three poems are contained in this pamphlet, but only twenty-three are new; these are:

237. Gliding O'er All.
238. Passage to India.
239. Proud Music of the Storm.
240. This Blood was Once the Man.
241. Whispers of Heavenly Death.
242. Darest Thou Now O Soul.

243. A Noiseless Patient Spider.
244. The Last Invocation.
245. As I Watch'd the Ploughman Ploughing.
246. Pensive and Faltering.
247. On the Beach at Night Alone.
248. The Return of the Heroes.
249. The Singer in the Prison.
250. Warble for Lilac-Time.
251. Sparkles From the Wheel.
252. Brother of All with Generous Hand.
253. Gods.
254. Now Finale to the Shore.
255. As They Draw to a Close.
256. The Untold Want.
257. Portals.
258. These Carols.
259. Joy, Shipmate, Joy.

Notes: In some copies of the 1871 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, *Passage to India* occurs as an annex. Aside from these the first appearance of these poems in the Complete Works is in 1876. The edition of 1876 contains one poem, *To You* ("Let us twain walk aside from the rest"), not in the pamphlet of 1871, and omits the poem called *Lessons*.

1871

After All Not to Create Only, 1871. Pamphlet form, pp. 1–24. Title-page: Walt Whitman's/Ameri-

can Institute Poem/AFTER ALL NOT TO/CREATE ONLY/Recited by Walt Whitman on Invitation of/Managers American Institute, on Opening / their 40th Annual Exhibition, New York/noon, September 7, 1871/Boston/Roberts Brothers/1871.

260. After All Not to Create Only.

Notes: In later editions this poem is entitled *Song of the Exposition.* In a prose preface the purpose of the poem is stated as being "to suggest that artists and poets in the United States may best give up old-time and old-world themes, and betake themselves to convey the power, beauty, and nutriment of Humanity here, with current Inventions, Science, Patriotism — and to make labor ideal as well as material."

1871 (72)

Fifth edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1871 (72). Bound in cloth. On back LEAVES/OF/GRASS by/Walt Whitman. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Washington, D. C./1872. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1871. Portrait, the wood-cut by Linton, illustrating the *Wound-Dresser.*

The new poems, exclusive of the *Passage to India* group and *After All Not to Create Only* (which form the annexes to this volume) number thirteen:

(237–260 Passage to India poems and After All Not to Create Only).

261. As I Ponder'd in Silence.
262. In Cabin'd Ships at Sea.
263. For Him I Sing.
264. To Thee Old Cause.
265. The Ship Starting.
266. The Base of all Metaphysics.
267. Adieu to a Soldier.
268. O Sun of Real Peace (not in last editions.)
269. Delicate Cluster.
270. Ethiopia Saluting the Colors.
271. Still though the One I Sing.
272. Years of the Modern.
273. Thought (not in last editions.)

Notes: In the arrangement there is an approach to the unity of the final volume. The poems stand here in nearly the last revision, the plates of 1871 serving for 1876. Sections and paragraphs are numbered.

In some special volumes of this date two annexes are bound in: PASSAGE TO INDIA (pp. i–iv, 5–120) and AFTER ALL NOT TO CREATE ONLY (pp. 1–14.)

1872

As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free, and Other Poems, 1872. Pamphlet form, prose preface pp. i–ix; poems,—two leaves without pagination and 1–16; advertisement, pp. 1–8. Title-page: AS A STRONG BIRD ON/PINIONS FREE/AND OTHER

POEMS/Washington, D. C./1872. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1872. The preface is signed "W. W., Washington, D.C. May 31, 1872." The titles of the poems are:

274. One Song America Before I Go (not in last editions).

275. My Legacy.

276. As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free (Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood).

277. The Mystic Trumpeter.

278. O Star of France.

279. Virginia—the West.

280. By Broad Potomac's Shore.

Note: This poem was recited by Whitman as a Commencement Poem at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., June 26, 1872. It was bound in with the *Leaves* in 1876.

1875

Memoranda of the War, 1875. Cloth-bound, pp. i–68. On cover: Walt Whitman's Memoranda of the War, written on the Spot in 1863–'66. Title-page: MEMORANDA/DURING THE WAR/By Walt Whitman/Author's Publication/Camden, New Jersey/1875–'76. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1875.

The title-page is preceded by a personal note and two portraits.

Note: The memoranda and notes became in 1882 parts of *Specimen Days* and other notes.

1876

Sixth edition of poems: First edition of Complete Works in two volumes, the *Centennial Edition,* 1876: Vol. I, *Leaves of Grass,* Vol. II, *Autumn Rivulets* (prose and poems). I., *Leaves of Grass.* Twelve mo., pp. i–vi, 7–384. Bound in half-leather. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Author's Edition/ with Portraits and Intercalations/Camden, New Jersey, 1876. The title-page bears also the poem beginning "Come, said my Soul," which is signed in autograph, "Walt Whitman." Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1876. Portraits: facing p. 29 the steel cut from the edition of 1855 illustrating the *Song of Myself;* facing p. 285, the wood-cut by Linton from the edition of 1871, illustrating the *Wound-Dresser.*

II., *Two Rivulets,* prose and poems. Pp. 1–32, 1–84, 1–18, i-x, 1–16, 1–68, 1–120=348 pages. Title-page: TWO/RIVULETS/Including Democratic Vistas, Centennial/Songs, and Passage to India/Author's Edition/Camden, New Jersey/1876. At the top of page the lines: "For the Eternal Ocean bound/These ripples, passing surges, streams of Death and Life." Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1875. Portrait, photograph from life as frontispiece, signed in autograph, Walt Whitman, Washington, 1873.

The new poems appearing in *Two Rivulets* are the following:

281. Come, said my Soul (title-page).

282. Two Rivulets Side by Side (not in last editions).

283. Or from that Sea of Time (not in last editions).

284. Eidolons.

285. Spain.

286. Prayer of Columbus.

287. Out from Behind This Mask.

288. To a Locomotive in Winter.

289. The Ox-Tamer.

290. Wandering at Morn.

291. An Old Man's Thought of School.

292. With All Thy Gifts.

293. From My Last Years (not in last editions).

294. In Former Songs (not in last editions).

295. After the Sea-Ship.

296. Song of the Redwood Tree.

297. Song of the Universal.

298. Song of All Seas, All Ships.

The prose pieces include Preface to *Two Rivulets, Thoughts for the Centennial, Democratic Vistas, General Notes,* Preface to *As a Strong Bird on Pinion's Free, Memoranda During the War.* These pieces all appear in the Complete Prose in 1892.

Notes: Volume I. is the same as the edition of

1871 with the exception of the new title-page and a few poems intercalated. The intercalations vary in different copies. In several volumes appear *As in a Swoon, The Beauty of the Ship, When the Full-grown Poet Came, After an Interval, The Man-of-War-Bird, A Death Sonnet for Custer.*

The pieces in *Two Rivulets* were partially set up by Whitman himself at a printing office in Camden.

1881

Seventh edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1881. Twelve mo., pp. 1–382. On cover an emblem of a butterfly with raised wings resting upon a hand. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Boston/James R. Osgood and Co./1881–1882. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1881. Portrait, facing page 29, illustrating the *Song of Myself* (from the edition of 1855).

The new poems are:

299. Thou Reader.
300. Youth, Day, Old Age, and Night.
301. To the Man-of-War-Bird.
302. Patroling Barnegat.
303. The Dalliance of the Eagles.
304. Roaming in Thought (after reading Hegel).
305. Hast Never Come to Thee an Hour.
306. As Consequent.
307. Italian Music in Dakota.
308. My Picture-Gallery.

309. The Prairie States.
310. A Paumanok Picture.
311. Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling.
312. A Riddle Song.
313. From Far Dakota's Cañons.
314. What Best I See in Thee.
315. Spirit that Form'd This Scene.
316. A Clear Midnight.
317. As at Thy Portals Also Death.
318. The Sobbing of the Bells.

Notes: The poems were given the last revision and the volume had its final arrangement in this edition. Six months after the issue of this edition Osgood and Co. were threatened with prosecution by the Massachusetts District Attorney, at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, on account of the alleged immorality of the poems, and the publication was abandoned.

1882

Second edition of Complete Works in two volumes: I., *Leaves of Grass;* II., *Specimen Days and Collect.* I., *Leaves of Grass,* twelve mo., pp. 1–382, identical with 1881 edition with the exception of the title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Author's Edition/ Camden, New Jersey/1882; with the poem beginning "Come, said my Soul" (as in 1876 ed.). II., *Specimen Days and Collect,* a companion volume,

pp. i–vi, 7–374. Title-page: SPECIMEN / DAYS/ AND COLLECT/By Walt Whitman/author of *Leaves of Grass* / Philadelphia / Rees Welsh and Co. / No. 23 South Ninth Street/1882–'83. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1882. Portrait facing p. 122, a photograph of Whitman seated and examining a butterfly poised on his outstretched fore-finger. This book contained *Specimen Days* (including *Memoranda during the War,* and notes published in *The Critic* and other magazines), *Collect,* (including *Democratic Vistas, Prefaces, Poets To-Day in America, Death of Abraham Lincoln,* and other papers,) *Notes Left Over,* and *Pieces in Early Youth.*

Note: Other copies of this edition have the imprint of David McKay of Philadelphia, who succeeded to the business of Rees Welsh & Co.

1888

November Boughs, 1888. Eight vo., pp. 1–140 (prose and poems). Title-page: NOVEMBER BOUGHS/by Walt Whitman/Philadelphia/David McKay, 23 South Ninth Street/1888. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1888. Frontispiece, portrait of author in 70th year.

The poems of this volume are all new except *Small the Theme of My Chant* (which is from the 1867 edition) and *Stronger Lessons.*

319. Mannahatta.

320. Paumanok.
321. From Montauk Point.
322. To Those Who 've Failed.
323. A Carol Closing Sixty-Nine.
324. The Bravest Soldiers.
325. A Font of Type.
326. As I Sit Writing Here.
327. My Canary Bird.
328. Queries to My Seventieth Year.
329. The Wallabout Martyrs.
330. The First Dandelion.
331. America.
332. Memories.
333. To-day and Thee.
334. After the Dazzle of Day.
335. Abraham Lincoln, born Feb. 12, 1809.
336. Out of May's Shows Selected.
337. Halcyon Days.
338. The Pilot in the Mist.
339. Had I the Choice.
340. Yon Tides with Ceaseless Swell.
341. Last of Ebb, and Daylight Waning.
342. And Yet Not You Alone.
343. Proudly the Flood Comes In.
344. By That Long Scan of Waves.
345. Then Last of All.
346. Election Day, November, 1884.
347. With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea.

348. Death of General Grant.
349. Red Jacket (from Aloft).
350. Washington's Monument, February, 1885.
351. Of That Blithe Throat of Thine.
352. Broadway.
353. To Get the Final Lilt of Songs.
354. Old Salt Kossabone.
355. The Dead Tenor.
356. Continuities.
357. Yonnondio.
358. Life.
359. "Going Somewhere."
360. True Conquerors.
361. The United States to Old World Critics.
362. The Calming Thought of All.
363. Thanks in Old Age.
364. Life and Death.
365. The Voice of the Rain.
366. Soon Shall the Winter's Foil Be Here.
367. While Not the Past Forgetting.
368. The Dying Veteran.
369. A Prairie Sunset.
370. Twenty Years.
371. Orange Buds by Mail from Florida.
372. Twilight.
373. You Lingering Sparse Leaves of Me.
374. Not Meagre, Latent Boughs Alone.
375. The Dead Emperor.

376. As the Greek's Signal Flame.
377. The Dismantled Ship.
378. Now Precedent Songs, Farewell.
379. An Evening Lull.
380. After the Supper and Talk.

The prose pieces include *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads,* and the score or more notes reprinted in the 1892 edition of Prose Works, pages 375–476.

Note: The group of poems is called *Sands at Seventy*. The group (nos. 338–345) has for a general title *Fancies at Navesink*.

1888–'89

Eighth edition of poems, third edition of Complete Works. One volume, large quarto, pp. 900. On back: Walt Whitman/Complete/Poems & Prose/ Leaves of Grass/Specimen Days/and Collect/November Boughs/ with Sands at Seventy/Annex to L. of G./Portraits from Life, &/Autograph/Ed'n 1888–'9. Title-page: COMPLETE/POEMS AND PROSE/ OF WALT WHITMAN/1855 - 1888/Authenticated and Personal Book (handled by W. W.)/Portrait from Life — Autograph; on this page also a profile portrait. Portraits facing p. 29 and the frontispiece of *November Boughs* Annex. Contents: Note at beginning; *Leaves of Grass* (as in 1881), pp. 1–382; Annex *Sands at Seventy; Specimen Days* and *Collect* (as

in 1882 edition of prose writings), pp. i–vi, 7–374; *November Boughs* (as 1888 edition), pp. 1–140; note at end.

Note: The new pieces in this edition are those taken from *November Boughs.*

1889

Special edition of *Leaves of Grass,* the eighth separate edition of poems. Twelve mo., bound in morocco, pp. 422. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/with Sands at Seventy/And A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads; also a personal note containing the important announcement, "Doubtless, anyhow, the volume is more A Person than a book"; this note followed by author's autograph. Portraits facing pp. 29, 132, 214, 296, and annex of *Sands at Seventy.*

Note: This is a special autograph edition of 300 copies issued in celebration of the author's 70th birthday. *Sands at Seventy* is here incorporated in *Leaves of Grass. A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads* takes its place at the close of the volume.

1891

Good-Bye my Fancy. Eight vo., pp. 1–66, prose and poems. Title-page: GOOD-BYE/MY FANCY/2d Annex to Leaves of Grass/Philadelphia/David McKay, Publisher/23 South Ninth Street/1891.

Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1891. Frontispiece, portrait reproduced from sculptor's bust, a profile view in high light and shade. Contents: Thirty-one poems as in '92 ed., vol. I., pp. 407–422; prose essays as in '92 ed., vol. II., pp. 447–522.

The new poems are:

381. Sail Out for Good, Eidólon Yacht.
382. Lingering Last Drops.
383. Good-Bye my Fancy.
384. On, on the Same, Ye Jocund Twain.
385. My 71st Year.
386. Apparitions.
387. The Pallid Wreath.
388. An Ended Day.
389. Old Age's Ship and Crafty Death's.
390. To the Pending Year.
391. Shakspere-Bacon's Cipher.
392. Long, Long Hence.
393. Bravo, Paris Exposition.
394. Interpolation Sounds.
395. To the Sunset Breeze.
396. Old Chants.
397. A Christmas Greeting.
398. Sounds of the Winter.
399. A Twilight Song.
400. When the Full-grown Poet Came.
401. Osceola.
402. A Voice from Death.

403. A Persian Lesson.
404. The Commonplace.
405. "The Rounded Catalogue Divine Complete."
406. Mirages.
407. L. of G.'s Purport.
408. The Unexpress'd.
409. Grand is the Seen.
410. Unseen Buds.
411. Good-Bye my Fancy.

1892

Ninth edition of *Leaves of Grass,* fourth edition of Complete Works, in two volumes, 1892.

I., *Leaves of Grass,* bound in cloth, pp. 1–438. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS/Including/Sands at Seventy — 1st Annex/Good-Bye my Fancy — 2d Annex/A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads/ and Portrait from Life/Philadelphia/David McKay, Publisher/23 South Ninth Street/1892; also the poem beginning "Come, said my Soul," signed by autograph. Covered by previous copyrights. Portrait facing p. 29 from 1855 edition. Contents: *Leaves of Grass* (to p. 382 as in 1881 edition): Annex; *Sands at Seventy* (as in *November Boughs,* 1888); Annex: *Good-Bye my Fancy* (as ed. of same in 1891); *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads* (prose as in *November Boughs,* 1888).

The new poems are those of the *Good-Bye my Fancy* Annex (381–411).

Note: This edition was made up and supervised by Whitman during his last illness. It contains the following note:

"As there are now several editions of *L. of G.*, different texts and dates, I wish to say that I prefer and recommend this present one, complete, for future printing, if there should be any; a copy and facsimile, indeed, of the text of these 438 pages. The subsequent adjusting interval which is so important to form'd and launch'd work, books especially, has pass'd; and waiting till fully after that, I have given (pages 423–438) my concluding words."

II., Prose Works. A companion volume to the poems, pp. i-viii, 7–522. Title-page: COMPLETE/ PROSE / WORKS / Walt Whitman / Philadelphia / David McKay, Publisher / 23 South Ninth Street/ 1892. Covered by previous copyrights. Made up of *Specimen Days* and *Collect* (1882) including pieces of early youth, the prose pieces of *November Boughs* (1888) and *Good-Bye my Fancy* (1891).

1897–'98

Tenth edition of *Leaves of Grass,* fifth edition of Complete Works, in two volumes, 1897.

I., *Leaves of Grass.* Crown octavo, bound in cloth, pp. 1–455. LEAVES OF GRASS / WALT

WHITMAN, in gilt upon the cover, the back decorated with leaves of grass. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS/Including/Sands at Seventy, Good Bye My Fancy/Old Age Echoes, and A Backward Glance/ O'er Travel'd Roads/by/WALT WHITMAN/Boston/ Small, Maynard & Company/1897; is marked also by publisher's emblem: Has verses beginning "Come, said my Soul" signed by Whitman's autograph; also the author's note from the 1892 edition. Copyright by Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned and Horace L. Traubel, the literary executors of Walt Whitman. Entered also at Stationers Hall. Portraits, the Gutekunst photograph as frontispiece (autographed) and the steel engraving from the 1855 edition. The edition is distinguished by "posthumous additions" called *Old Age Echoes:*

412. To Soar in Freedom and in Fullness of Power.

413. Then Shall Perceive.

414. The Few Drops Known.

415. One Thought Ever at the Fore.

416. While Behind All Firm and Erect.

417. A Kiss to the Bride.

418. Nay, Tell Me Not To-day the Publish'd Shame.

419. Supplement Hours.

420. Of Many a Smutch'd Deed Reminiscent.

421. To Be at All.

422. Death's Valley.

423. On the Same Picture.

424. A Thought of Columbus.

Note: This edition has beside a table of contents an index of first lines. Of this edition, ninety copies on hand-made paper, and with four additional illustrations, were printed for sale in the United States and Great Britain.

II., Prose Works. A companion volume to the poems, pp. 1–527. Title-page: COMPLETE/PROSE WORKS / Specimen Days and Collect, November Boughs / and Good Bye My Fancy / By WALT WHITMAN/Boston/Small, Maynard & Company/ 1898 (with publisher's emblem). Illustrations: frontispiece, a reproduction of a painting by Charles Hine (1859); Whitman's birthplace at West Hills, L. I.; facsimile of manuscript; Whitman's residence at Camden, N. J.; Elias Hicks's portrait; Whitman's tomb. This volume contains one new prose note called *Walt Whitman's Last.*

1897

CALAMUS, A Series of Letters Written/During the Years 1868–1880 by Walt/Whitman to a Young Friend (Peter Doyle). Edited with an Introduction by Richard/Maurice Bucke M.D. One of Whitman's /Literary Executors/Published by Laurens Maynard at 287 Congress/Street in Boston MDCCCXCVII. 12

mo. Pp. i–viii, 1–172. Upon the title-page also a quotation from *L. of G.* Copyright given to Laurens Maynard in 1897. Contents: Chronological notes of Walt Whitman's life; introduction by the editor, containing an interview with Peter Doyle; letters of 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876–1880. Illustrated by a drawing from a photograph of Whitman and Doyle and by a facsimile of a letter.

1898

The/Wound Dresser/A Series of Letters/Written from the Hospitals in Washington/During the War of the Rebellion/By/Walt Whitman/ Edited by/ Richard Maurice Bucke, M.D./One of Whitman's Literary Executors/Boston/Small, Maynard & Company/1898 (with the publisher's emblem). A 12 mo., pp. i–viii, 1–201. Contents: Preface by the Editor, *The Great Army of the Wounded, Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers, Hospital Visits*, Letters of 1862–3, Letters of 1864. Illustrated by a photograph of Whitman during war time.

1899

Notes and Fragments: Left by Walt/Whitman and now Edited by Dr. Richard/Maurice Bucke, One of His Literary Executors/Printed/For Private Distribution Only/1899: has also on the title-page a quo-

tation from *L. of G.* A large quarto, pp. 1–211. Contents: Editor's Preface; first drafts of rejected lines and passages; notes on the meaning and intention of *L. of G.*; memoranda from books and personal reflections; shorter words, sentences, names, etc.; notes on English History; list of magazines and newspapers found among Whitman's papers. Two hundred and fifty copies of these notes were printed.

1900

A reprint of poems published before 1872. One volume, pp. 1–496. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS /by/WALT WHITMAN/Including a Fac-simile auto-/biography variorum readings/of the poems and a department/of Gathered Leaves/Philadelphia/David McKay/1022 Market St. Copyright given to David McKay in 1900. Has four portraits, three of them autographed.

Note: This reprint is complete of Whitman's poetical writings up to 1872. It contains a preface, notes as to the dates of poems, some variorum readings, and indexes of titles, prepared by Mr. McKay.

1902

The present edition represents the eleventh distinct publication of *Leaves of Grass* and the sixth edition of Whitman's complete writings.

General Note: Only a few of Whitman's poems appeared in periodicals before publication in *Leaves of Grass.* In one of his late prose notes Whitman made this record: "All along from 1860 to '91, many of the pieces in L of G, and its annexes were first sent to publishers or magazine editors before being printed in the L, and were peremptorily rejected by them, and sent back to their author." And in June, 1890, he had written a little sadly: "The —— rejects and sends back my little poem, so I am now set out in the cold by every big magazine and publisher, and may as well understand and admit it — which is just as well, for I find I am palpably losing my sight and ratiocination." Among the pieces accepted by the papers and magazines I find the following: *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking,* under the title, *A Child's Reminiscence,* in the New York *Saturday Press,* December 24, 1859; *Elemental Drifts,* with the title of *Bardic Symbols,* in *Atlantic Monthly,* April, 1860; *The Return of the Heroes,* called *A Carol of Harvest for 1867,* in *The Galaxy,* September, 1867; *Whispers of Heavenly Death,* in *The Broadway,* October, 1868; *A Broadway Pageant,* in the New York *Citizen,* September 5, 1868; *Proud Music of the Storm,* under title of *Proud Music of the Sea-Storm,* in *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1869; *The Singer in the Prison,* in *Saturday Evening Visitor,* December, 1869; *After All Not*

to Create Only, in the New York *Evening Post, Commercial Advertiser, Evening Star* (Wash.) and other dailies, September 7, 1871; *O Star of France,* in *The Galaxy,* June, 1871; *The Mystic Trumpeter,* in *The Kansas Magazine,* February, 1872; *Prayer of Columbus,* in *Harper's Monthly,* March, 1874; *Patroling Barnegat* and *My Picture Gallery,* in *The American,* June and October, 1880; *The Dalliance of the Eagles,* in *Copes's Tobacco Plant,* November, 1880; *Patroling Barnegat,* also in *Harper's Monthly,* April, 1881; *The Sobbing of the Bells,* in the *Boston Daily Globe,* September 27, 1881; *Old Age's Lambent Peaks,* in *The Century Magazine,* September, 1883; *With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!* in *Harper's Monthly,* March, 1884; *Of that Blithe Throat of Thine,* in *Harper's Monthly,* January, 1885; *To the Sunset Breeze,* in *Lippincott's Magazine,* December, 1890; *Sounds of the Winter, The Unexpress'd, Sail Out for Good Eidolon Yacht, After the Argument,* in *Lippincott's,* March, 1891; *The Commonplace* in facsimile, in *Munyon's Magazine,* March, 1891; *The Pallid Wreath,* in *The Critic,* January 10, 1891; *Death's Valley,* in *Harper's Monthly,* April, 1896.

The prose stories, essays and notes, were published quite generally in current periodicals. The early stories from 1841 to 1845 appeared in the *Democratic Review* of various dates. *Franklin Evans* occupied one whole number of the *New World* in 1842.

Portions of *Democratic Vistas* were published in *The Galaxy,* December, 1867, and May, 1868, under titles of *Democracy* and *Personalism.* Many of the notes of *Specimen Days* came out first in the New York papers. *The Poetry of the Future* was given to the *North American Review,* February, 1881. *How I Get Around at Sixty,* and other notes from *Specimen Days* were printed by *The Critic* in 1881. I note also the following: *A Memorandum at a Venture,* in the *North American,* June, 1882; *The Bible as Poetry,* in *The Critic,* February 3, 1883; *An Indian Bureau Reminiscence,* in *To-Day,* May, 1884; *A Backward Glance on My Own Road,* in *The Critic,* January 5, 1884; *Thoughts on Shakspere,* in *The Critic,* August 14, 1886; *Robert Burns as Poet and Person,* in the *North American Review,* November, 1886; the note on Abraham Lincoln in *Reminiscences of Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time,* edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, N. Y., 1886; *Some War Memoranda,* in the *North American Review,* January, 1887; *My Book and I,* in *Lippincott's,* January, 1889; *Father Taylor and Oratory,* in *Century Magazine,* February, 1887; *Army Hospitals and Cases, Century Magazine,* October, 1888; *An Old Man's Rejoinder, The Critic,* August 16, 1890; *Old Poets,* the *North American Review,* November, 1890; *Shakespeare for America,* in *Poet-Lore,* September, 1890; *Have We a National Literature,* in the *North*

American Review, March, 1891; *Some Personal and Old Age Memoranda, Lippincott's,* March, 1891; *How Leaves of Grass Was Made* (a part of *A Backward Glance*), in *Frank Leslie's Monthly,* June, 1892; *The Death of Carlyle* and the note on the death of Longfellow were reprinted also from *The Critic.*

OTHER EDITIONS

American: *Selected Poems by Walt Whitman,* edited by Arthur Stedman, N. Y., 1892, with portrait and sixty-three titles; *Selections from Leaves of Grass* (Gems from Walt Whitman), by Elizabeth Porter Gould, Phil. 1889; selections in *Library of American Literature,* edited by Stedman and Hutchinson, Vol. 7, pp. 501–513; selections in *The Magazine of Poetry,* January, 1889; selections in Lewis's *Introduction to the Study of Literature,* N. Y. 1899; *Selections from Walt Whitman,* edited by O. L. Triggs, Boston, 1898; selections in *An American Anthology,* edited by E. C. Stedman, Boston, 1891 (pp. 221–232), with biographical note (p. 830). Prose pieces in *Autobiographia,* edited by Arthur Stedman, N. Y., 1892; *American Prose* (N. Y., 1898), edited by G. C. Carpenter, with an introduction by George Santayana; *Selections from Walt Whitman,* edited by O. L. Triggs, Boston, 1898.

English: *Leaves of Grass,* London, David Bogue,

1881; *Leaves of Grass,* Glasgow, 1883; *Poems by Walt Whitman,* edited by W. M. Rossetti, London, 1868 (with portrait and introduction, reprint of 1855 preface, and one hundred and three poems). *Poems by Walt Whitman,* edited by Ernest Rhys, in the "Canterbury Poets" series, London, 1886 (with introduction). *Poems by Walt Whitman,* in *The Penny Poets,* edited by W. T. Stead, London, 1895; *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd,* reprinted at Essex House Press (a limited edition of 125 copies, with special designs and illustrations by C. R. Ashbee). The prose preface to the 1855 edition was reprinted by Trübner & Co., 1881; *Specimen Days and Collect,* Glasgow, 1883; *Specimen Days in America,* edited by Ernest Rhys, in "Camelot Series," London, 1888; *Democratic Vistas and Other Papers,* edited by Ernest Rhys, in "Camelot Series," London, 1888; *November Boughs,* London, 1889; selections in Edmond Holmes's *Walt Whitman,* London, 1902.

Translations: German: *Grashalme,* translation of *Leaves of Grass,* by Karl Knortz and T.W. Rolleston, Zurich, 1889; *Song of the Answerer,* translated by T. W. Rolleston, in *Ueber Wordsworth und Walt Whitman,* Dresden, 1883.

Italian: *Canti Scelti,* translation of *Leaves of Grass,* by Luigi Gamberale, Biblioteca Universale, Milan, 1887.

French: Selections from poems translated by Gabriel Sarrazin, in *La Renaissance de la Poésie Anglaise;* selections translated in *La Vogue,* 1886; *La Revue Indépendante,* November, 1888.

Note: There are also translations into Russian, and Sir Edwin Arnold has translated selections from the poems into several Asiatic languages. It is noticeable that the poems pass easily and naturally into other languages than English, the rhythms being psychical rather than external and the thoughts so elemental and universal. In some cases the poems seem to gain by translation. Whitman is easily parodied also—see *Parodies,* part 58, vol. 5.

Whitman's writings and conversations not published in the Complete Works:

Franklin Evans; or, The Inebriate, a Tale of the Times, by Walter Whitman, chapters i–xxv. Published in the *New World,* November, 1842.

The prose essays in explanation and interpretation of his work, written in 1855 and 1856, *Walt Whitman and His Poems, Leaves of Grass, An English and American Poet,* reprinted in *In Re Walt Whitman.*

Letters written during the war from Washington, published in *Century Magazine,* October, 1893; letters written to his mother during his illness in Washington in 1873, published in *In Re Walt Whitman;* letters to William Sloane Kennedy concerning Emerson,

published in *Poet-Lore,* February, 1895; letters to Thomas Donaldson and others, published in *Walt Whitman, the Man;* letters to W. M. Rossetti and Mrs. Gilchrist, published in *Anne Gilchrist, Life and Writings;* letters to Karl Knortz, published in *Walt Whitman, Der Dichter der Demokratie.*

Conversations in 1880, reported by Dr. Bucke in *Walt Whitman;* 1887, reported by Sidney Morse, in *In Re Walt Whitman;* 1891, at the Round Table in Philadelphia, reported by Horace L. Traubel, in *In Re Walt Whitman;* reported by Anne Gilchrist, *Life and Writings,* chapter xix; conversations respecting Murger's poem, reported by H. L. Traubel, in *Poet-Lore,* October, 1894; 1892, or during the last years of life, reported by H. L. Traubel, in *The Arena,* January, 1896; other notes in *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman, Chats with Walt Whitman, Eclectic Monthly,* April, 1898, by Grace Gilchrist.

Notes on Physique, recorded by T. B. Harned, in a Fellowship Paper, *Whitman and Physique,* in 1899; a note on Immortality, in *In Re Walt Whitman;* preface to *Three Tales,* by W. D. O'Connor, Boston, 1892.

B.—Biographical and Critical

B. BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL

1.—Books

NOTES ON WALT WHITMAN AS POET AND PERSON, by John Burroughs, N. Y., first edition 1867, second edition 1871. Out of print. Contents: First Acquaintance with Poem and Poet, The Earlier Issues or Editions, Review of the Completed Poem, Standard of the Natural Universal, Beauty, Personality, Further Points, Personal Sketch, Drum-Taps, Supplementary Notes.

WALT WHITMAN, by R. M. Bucke, M.D., Phil. 1883 (authorized biography), with portrait of Whitman from painting by Gilchrist, and from photograph taken in 1880, portraits of Whitman's father and mother, and pen sketches in Long Island by Pennell. Contents: Chronology, Biographical Sketch, Personnel, Conversation, Letters from W. D. O'Connor and his "Good Gray Poet," History of "Leaves of Grass," Analysis of Poems, Appendix: Contemporaneous Criticisms.

IN RE WALT WHITMAN, ed. by Whitman's literary

executors, H. L. Traubel, R. M. Bucke, T. B. Harned, Phil. 1893 (supplementary to Dr. Bucke's Walt Whitman, 1883). Contents: Love and Death: A Symphony by J. A. Symonds, Walt Whitman and his Poems by Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass by Walt Whitman, An English and American Poet by Walt Whitman, Notes from Conversations with George W. Whitman (1893) by H. L. Traubel, A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman by Anne Gilchrist, The Man Walt Whitman by R. M. Bucke, Letters in Sickness (Washington, 1873) by Walt Whitman, Walt Whitman and his Recent Critics by J. Burroughs, Walt Whitman at Date by H. L. Traubel, "The Good Gray Poet" Supplemental, by W. D. O'Connor, Walt Whitman by Gabriel Sarrazin (tr. fr. French), Dutch Traits of Walt Whitman by W. S. Kennedy, Poet and Philosopher and Man by H. L. Traubel, Quaker Traits of Walt Whitman by W. S. Kennedy, Walt Whitman by Karl Knortz (tr. fr. German), Walt Whitman, the Poet of American Democracy, by Rudolph Schmidt (tr. fr. Danish), "Leaves of Grass" and Modern Science by R. M. Bucke, Liberty in Literature by R. G. Ingersoll, Walt Whitman by T. W. Rolleston (tr. fr. German), Round Table with Walt Whitman by H. L. Traubel, Walt Whitman and the Cosmic Sense by R. M. Bucke, Immortality by Walt Whitman, The Poet of Immortality by T. B. Harned, Walt Whitman and the Com-

mon People by J. Burroughs, My Summer with Walt Whitman (1887) by S. H. Morse, The Last Sickness and Death of Walt Whitman by Daniel Longaker, Last Days of Walt Whitman by J. W. Wallace, At the Graveside of Walt Whitman by H. L. Traubel (addresses by Harned, Brinton, Bucke, Ingersoll), Poems and Minor Pieces.

Camden's Compliments to Walt Whitman May 31, 1889, Notes, Addresses, Letters, Telegrams, ed. by Horace L. Traubel, Phil. 1889. Frontispiece: photograph of Whitman's bust from the clay model by Sidney H. Morse, 1887. Contents: Autobiographic Note, Response, To Walt Whitman (poem) by Ernest Rhys, "Recorders Ages Hence" by H. L. Traubel, Addresses by Gray, Harned, Gilchrist, Williams, Clifford, Garrison, Armstrong, Gilder, Hawthorne, Garland, Bonsall, Eyre; Letters from Tennyson, Rossetti, William Morris, Dowden, Carpenter, Burroughs, Stedman, Howells, Whittier, Aldrich, Furness, Childs, Mark Twain, Carleton, Curtis, and others; Telegrams and Postscript.

Walt Whitman, by William Clarke, London, 1892, with portrait of Whitman. Contents: Personality, Message to America, Art, Democracy, Spiritual Creed.

Walt Whitman, A Study, by J. A. Symonds, with portrait and four illustrations, London, 1893. Contents: Notice of Walt Whitman's Life, Study of Walt

Whitman: Religion, Personality, Sex-love, Love of Comrades, Democracy, Art.

Browning and Whitman: A Study in Democracy, by Oscar L. Triggs, London, New York, 1893. Contents: Ch. v., Whitman, General Relationship; vi., Browning and Whitman, the Personality, Man and Nature, Man in his Entirety, Life and Immortality, Love or the Social Side of Life.

Reminiscences of Walt Whitman: With Extracts from his Letters and Remarks on his Writings, by William Sloane Kennedy, London, 1896.

Whitman: A Study, by John Burroughs, Boston, 1896, with portrait. Contents: Preliminary, Biographical and Personal, Ruling Ideas and Aims, Self-reliance, Relation to Art and Literature, Relation to Life and Morals, Relation to Culture, Relation to Country and Times, Relation to Science, Relation to Religion, A Final Word.

Walt Whitman: The Man, by Thomas Donaldson, New York, 1896, with portrait and facsimile. Contents: Mr. Whitman in Washington, 1862–73; in Camden, 1873–92; as a Lecturer; Literary Aims, Hopes, Expected Literary Results, and Religious Views; Services to the Union in the War of the Rebellion, 1862–65; Horse and Buggy, 1885; Friends and Correspondents, 1872–92; Last Illness, Death and Burial.

Diary Notes of A Visit to Walt Whitman and

Some of His Friends, in 1890, with a Series of Original Photographs, by John Johnston, M.D. Manchester, 1898. Contents: First Interview, Second, Third, Fourth, Additional Notes, Visit to Brooklyn, Visit to West Hills, Visit to Herbert Gilchrist, Visit to John Burroughs, Supplementary Notes. Photographs: W. W. in 1890, Mickle Street, Camden, N. J., W. W.'s Room, W. W.'s House, W. W. on Camden Wharf, W. W. and Warry Fritzinger on Camden Wharf, In W. W.'s House, The Fulton Ferry Boat, West Hills (Long Island), John Burroughs, John Burroughs' Study, Facsimile of a Whitman Letter.

La Poesia di Walt Whitman, e l'Evoluzione della Forme Ritmiche, Turin, Italy, 1898, by P. Jannaccone.

Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman, by Elizabeth Porter Gould, Phil., 1900. Contains as an Appendix Mrs. Gilchrist's A Confession of Faith.

Walt Whitman, by Robert Louis Stephenson, and A Little Journey to the Home of Whitman, by Elbert Hubbard. The Roycroft Shop, 1900.

Walt Whitman: Two Addresses, by William Mackintire Salter, Phil., 1899. Contents: The Great Side of Walt Whitman, The Questionable Side of Walt Whitman.

Walt Whitman's Poetry: A Study and a Selection, by Edmond Holmes, London and New York, 1902.

Whitman's Ideal Democracy, by Helena Born, Boston, 1902. Contents: Whitman's Ideal Democracy, Thoreau's Joy in Nature, Poets of Revolt: Shelley, Whitman, Carpenter, Whitman's Altruism, Individualism versus Organization, Ingenuities of Economic Argument, The Last Stand Against Democracy in Sex, Inequality in Divorce, Marriage Safeguards.

II.—Pamphlets

The Good Gray Poet: A Vindication, by William Douglas O'Connor, N. Y., 1866. (Reprinted in Bucke's Walt Whitman.)

Ueber Wordsworth und Walt Whitman, by H. B. Cotterill and T. W. Rolleston, Dresden, Germ., 1883.

Walt Whitman, Poet and Democrat, by John Robertson in Round Table Series, Edinburgh, 1884.

Walt Whitman, by Karl Knortz, N. Y., 1886. (Written in German.)

The Poet as a Craftsman, by William Sloane Kennedy, Phil., 1886.

The Democratic Movement in Literature: Walt Whitman, by James Wilkie, Cupar-Fife (Scot.), 1886.

WALT WHITMAN: Man and Poet, by Thomas T. Greg, Warrington (England), 1888.

NOTES OF VISIT TO WALT WHITMAN, by Dr. J. Johnston, Bolton (Eng.), 1890 (privately printed).

LIBERTY IN LITERATURE, a testimonial to W. W. by Robert G. Ingersoll, N. Y., 1890. With portrait of Whitman. Reprinted in In Re Walt Whitman, 1893.

CONVERSATIONS WITH WALT WHITMAN, by Sadakichi (Hartmann), N. Y., 1894.

WALT WHITMAN: His Relation to Science and Philosophy, a Paper read at the meeting of the Australasian Ass'n for the Adv. of Science, in Jan. 1895, by William Gay, Melbourne, 1895.

WALT WHITMAN: Little Journeys to the Homes of American Authors, by Elbert Hubbard, N. Y., 1896.

WOMAN AND FREEDOM, by Helen Abbott Michael, Boston, 1897. (A reprint from Poet-Lore Magazine, April–June, 1897.)

WALT WHITMAN: AS RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TEACHER, by William Norman Guthrie, Cincinnati, 1899. (A limited edition of 100 copies.)

WALT WHITMAN: Der Dichter der Demokratie, von Karl Knortz, Leipzig, Germ., 1899. Contains also some new translations into German of portions of Leaves of Grass, and a series of letters written by W. W. to Karl Knortz.

THE OPEN ROAD, OR THE HIGHWAY OF THE SPIRIT:

An Inquiry into Whitman's Absolute Shepherd, a thesis presented to Cornell University by Charles Bell Burke.

Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers (Fel. org. May 31, 1894, Phil., H. L. Traubel, Sec., Camden, N. J.): Walt Whitman as Deliverer, by F. H. Williams. Whitman's Self-reliance, by John Burroughs. A Visit to West Hills, by D. G. Brinton and H. L. Traubel. A Short Reading Course in Whitman, by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. The American Idea in Whitman, by Charlotte Porter. A Convert to Whitman, by Edward Payson Jackson. Memories of Whitman, by Richard Maurice Bucke. Walt Whitman's Comradeship, by Laurens Maynard. Whitman: Radical or Conservative, by George J. Smith. Blending of Orient and Occident in Whitman, by Wayland H. Smith. Self-Primacy in Whitman, by Gustav P. Wicksell. Walt Whitman: An Address, by Richard Le Gallienne. Walt Whitman's Unsung Songs, by Charlotte Abbey.

III.—Essays in Books

Prefatory Notice, by W. M. Rossetti, in his edition of Whitman's poems, London, 1868.

Walt Whitman, in David Gray and Other Essays, by Robert Buchanan, London, 1868.

The Flight of the Eagle, in Birds and Poets, by John Burroughs, Boston, 1878.

Walt Whitman, in Poets' Homes, by Arthur Gilman, Boston, 1879. With three portraits.

Walt Whitman, in Familiar Studies of Men and Books, by Robert Louis Stevenson, London, 1882. Reprinted at the Roycroft Press, 1900.

Walt Whitman, in Buster og Masker; Literatur-Studier, by Rudolf Schmidt, Copenhagen, 1882.

Walt Whitman in American Literature (pp. 207–214), by John Nichol, Edinburgh, 1882.

Walt Whitman, in Pen Pictures of Modern Authors, by William Shepard, N. Y., 1883.

Walt Whitman, in Poets of America, by Edmund Clarence Stedman, Boston, 1885.

A Study of Walt Whitman, in Essays on Poetry and Poets, by Roden Noël, London, 1886.

Introduction to the Poems of Walt Whitman, by Ernest Rhys in his ed., London, 1886.

Introduction to Italian edition of Leaves of Grass (Canti Scelti), by Luigi Gamberale, Milan, 1887.

The American Socrates, in A Look around Literature, by Robert Buchanan, London, 1887.

An Englishwoman's Estimate of Walt Whitman: A Confession of Faith, in Anne Gilchrist, her Life and Writings, ed. by Herbert H. Gilchrist, London, 1887. Introduction by W. M. Rossetti, *passim*.

Vorwort und Einleitung, introducing German translation of Selected Poems (Grashalme) by Karl Knortz and T. W. Rolleston, Zurich, 1889.

Walt Whitman Among the Soldiers, in Gems from Walt Whitman, by Elizabeth Porter Gould, Phil., 1889.

Renaissance de la Poésie Anglaise, 1778–1889, par Gabriel Sarrazin, Paris, 1889. Chapters on Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson, Browning, Whitman. Themes of concluding chapter: Pantheism, The New World, Leaves of Grass, Walt Whitman (English translation in In Re W. W.).

Walt Whitman, in American Literature (pp. 261–266), by Julian Hawthorne and Leonard Lemmon, Boston, 1891.

Walt Whitman, in Twenty Modern Men: from the National Observer, London, 1891.

The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman, in Studies in Literature 1789–1877, by Edward Dowden, London, 1892.

Whitman, in The New Spirit, by Havelock Ellis, London, 1892 (relation with Diderot, Heine, Ibsen, Tolstoy).

Democratic Art, in Essays Speculative and Suggestive, by J. A. Symonds, London, 1893.

Whitmania, in Studies in Prose and Poetry, by A. C. Swinburne, London, 1894. Reprinted from Fortnightly Review, Aug. 1, 1887.

Introduction to selected poems of Walt Whitman, in Penny Poets Series, by W. T. Stead, London, 1894.

Walt Whitman, in That Dome in Air, by John Vance Cheney, Chicago, 1895.

Walt Whitman, in Modern Poet-prophets, by William Norman Guthrie, Cincinnati, 1897.

Walt Whitman, in American Bookmen, by M. A. De Wolfe Howe, N. Y., 1898.

Introduction to Selections from Whitman's Prose and Poetry, by Oscar L. Triggs, Boston, 1898.

Wagner, Millet and Whitman, in Angels' Wings, by Edward Carpenter, London, 1898.

A Day with the Good Gray Poet, in Literary Shrines, by Theodore F. Wolfe, Phil.

Walt Whitman, in Introduction to American Literature (pp. 294–304), by H. S. Pancoast, N. Y., 1898.

Walt Whitman, in Studies in American Literature (pp. 253–258), by Charles Noble, N. Y., 1898, with portrait.

Walt Whitman, in A Persian Pearl and Other Essays, by Clarence S. Darrow, East Aurora, N. Y., 1899.

Walt Whitman, in A General Survey of American Literature (pp. 350–364), by Mary Fisher, Chicago, 1899.

Walt Whitman, in A Literary History of America (pp. 465–479), by Barrett Wendell, N. Y., 1900.

The Poetry of Barbarism (Browning and Whitman), in Poetry and Religion, by George Santayana, N. Y., 1900.

Walt Whitman's Poetry: A Study and Selection, by Edmond Holmes, 1901.

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